

STUDIA ETHNOGRAPHICA UPSALIENSIA. XXXVI

BAZAAR-E TASHQURGHAN

— ethnographical studies in an Afghan traditional bazaar

BY

C-J. CHARPENTIER



UPPSALA 1972

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مطالعات اتنوگرافیک در یکی از بازارهای سبک قدیم افغانستان

گرد آورده

ک. ی. شارپاتیه



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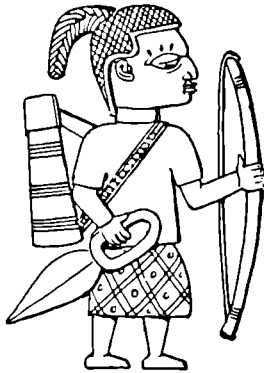
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One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Afghans, is their hospitality. The practice of this virtue is so much a national point of honour, that their reproach to an inhospitable man, is that he has no Pooshtoonwullee (nothing of the customs of the Afghans). All persons indiscriminately are entitled to profit by this practice; and a man, who travelled over the whole country without money, would never be in want of a meal, unless perhaps in towns. It is the greatest of affronts to an Afghaun to carry off his guest; but his indignation is never directed against the guest who quits him, but the person who invites him away.

(MONTSTUART ELPHINSTONE 1815, p. 226)

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FOREWORD

Before reading this study a few things must be pointed out to the reader as I consider them of vital importance for the understanding of the contents and disposition of the book.

This book is a pure descriptive ethnographical study of a bazaar in Afghanistan, or more precisely, in Afghan Turkestan. Throughout the study I have tried to maintain a descriptive approach, entirely based on empiric datas, which has been my aim ever since I started this work a few years ago.

The study of the bazaar is, however, not complete in the sense that every inch, every single shop and every shopkeeper/craftsman in the bazaar is described in detail, which would be more or less impossible to do, because I was dependent on time and money while I was working in Afghanistan.

I have surveyed most of the shops, and especially the manufacturing ones, quite thoroughly, thus leaving only a minor part of the bazaar unexamined. This can of course be criticized but, in my opinion I consider the material presented in this volume quite enough to fulfil the aim of this study—an ethnographical description of a traditional Afghan bazaar.

All photographs, drawings, illustrations and sketch-maps are, for financial reasons, made by the author and because of this some of them are somewhat amateurish, but this does not reduce their ethnographic value.¹ As far as the maps are concerned it must be stressed that since I lack cartographic training they are to be regarded as simplified sketch-maps which are not exact from a cartographic point of view, but they serve their principal aim which is only to show the general features of the Central Town Bazaar, an area which moreover has never been the subject of any detailed professional cartographic survey.

All questions concerning social and economic aspects in the bazaar of Tashqurghan were met with slight suspicion. For natural reasons people do not freely want to disclose all their private lives to an infidel and foreigner whose role in their society they do not fully understand. Most of the craftsmen and shopkeepers were, however, remarkably co-operative but as soon as I perceived an air of strain or uneasiness I immediately stopped the interrogation. This was especially apparent when my questions touched upon such topics as income and tax, social status, etc., and most of all when we discussed marriage, how to choose partners, what kind of work the women performed at home, their economical importance for the family, how many wives the different craftsmen had, etc. A simple question such as "How many daughters do you have?" was universally considered as rude and the answer to this was silence. In order not to upset people and to preserve my own possibilities of future work in Tashqurghan I had to leave some of the questions on social structure unanswered.

¹ Cf. the photographic material in NIEDERMAYER.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

During my three stays in Afghanistan I have received help and assistance from a great number of people. I wish especially to express my gratitude to His Royal Excellency Dr Ravan Abd-ul-Ghafur Farhadi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Kabul, and to His Royal Excellency Dr Mohammad Yossuf, ambassador of the Kingdom of Afghanistan to the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn. Without their help this study would never have been possible to fulfil.

Thanks are also due to the present royal sub-governor of Khulm, Mr Mohammad Nasim Argandiwal, to my excellent interpreter Mr Bashir Ahmad Farhad, Kabul, and to one of the school-teachers of Tashqurghan, Mr Faqir Mohammad Khan. The local population of Tashqurghan gave me valuable information and without their benevolent co-operation my field-work would have been very difficult to undertake. I should like to thank all those who have assisted me and facilitated my work, in particular blacksmith *Ustad* Yaqub, blacksmith *Kalanthar* Abdul Aziz, *Atar-banjara* Mohammad Ismael Ahraj, coppersmith *Ustad* Gholam Sarwar and the local officials of the sub-governorate of Khulm.

In Kabul several persons helped me with bureaucratic details as well as with friendly advice, especially my very dear friend and "brother", Mr Ram Chand Mehra. Mr Hamid. Hosaini in the Cultural Department of the foreign ministry and several officials in the ministry of the interior, were also able to proffer me assistance.

To my teacher Professor Sture Lagercrantz, I am under special obligation, for his generous help, personal interest and guidance which he has provided from the very beginning of this study.

For financial support I gratefully thank The Swedish Council for Social Science Research, Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse and Humanistiska Fakulteten of the Royal University of Uppsala.

Uppsala, July 1972

C-J. Charpentier

INTRODUCTION

This volume "Bazaar-e Tashqurghan" is a descriptive ethnographical study almost exclusively based on field-material collected during three visits to Afghanistan, in the spring and summer 1970, in the spring and summer 1971, and in the winter, spring and early summer 1972. The aim of the research is to describe one traditional Afghan bazaar, probably the last existing one in the country, which has never been thoroughly examined before.¹

The field-material is collected by means of part-taking observation and as the relevant literary sources covering this part of Afghanistan are extremely few all the data given are my own field-notes with a few exceptions where literary sources are quoted. Due to the lack of relevant literature² the bibliography is also quite short as I have concentrated mainly on the field-material itself.

After a few introductory chapters giving general information on Afghan handicraft, on Tashqurghan and its bazaar and a discussion on the various types of bazaars in Afghanistan, this book is divided into three parts.

Part one, "The Setting" is a description of the bazaar of Tashqurghan itself and its environment.

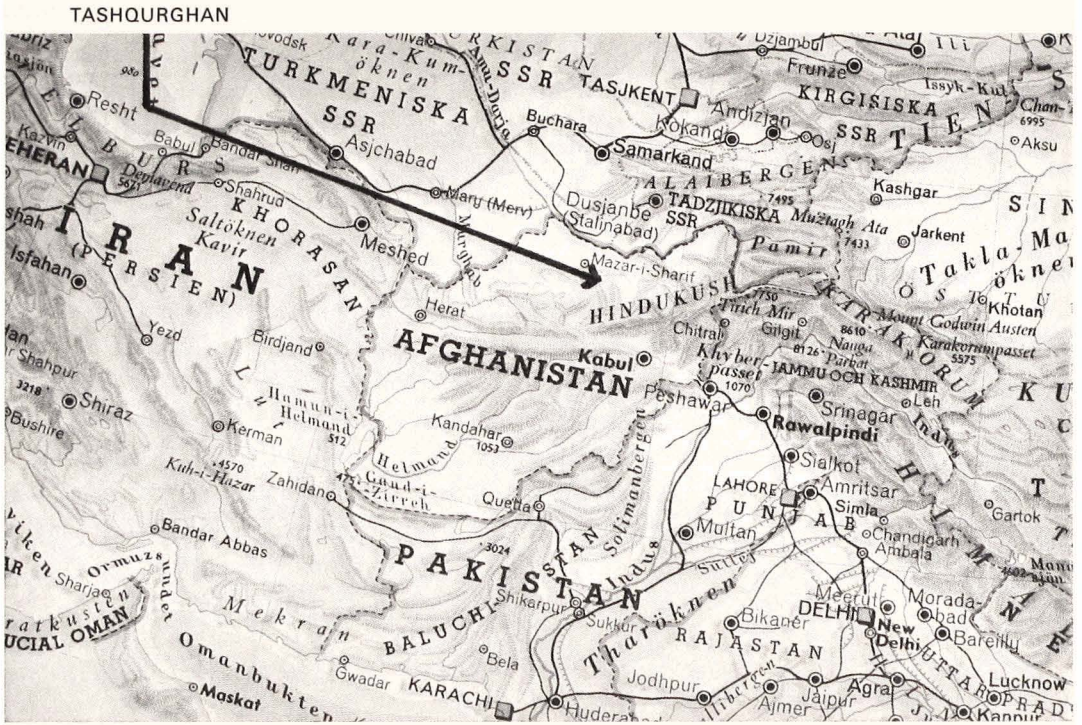
Part two, "The Crafts" deals with the craftsmen and their products with some aspects on technology and ergonomics of the various crafts, and a brief account of the sellers and their merchandise.

Part three, "Social and Economic Aspects" discusses patterns of trade, financial features and social structure in the bazaar.

¹ When my manuscript was already completed P. CENTLIVRES published a new study on the same topic; see conclusion.

² As I can't read Russian these sources are left unexamined.

MAPS

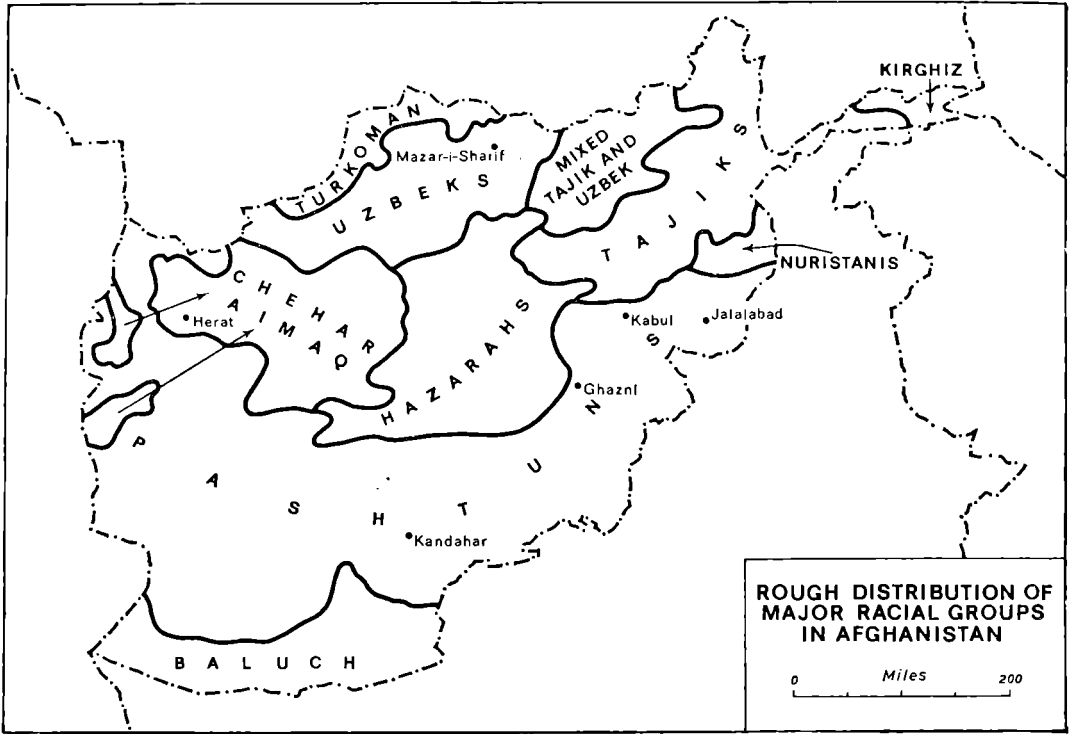


Afghanistan. Scale: 1 : 20 milj.

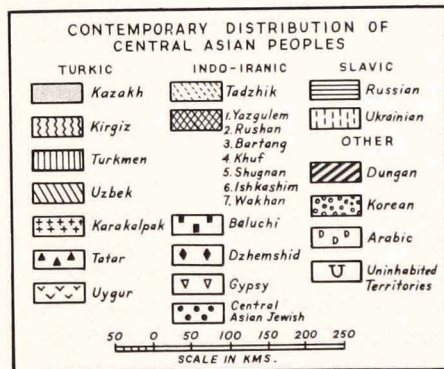
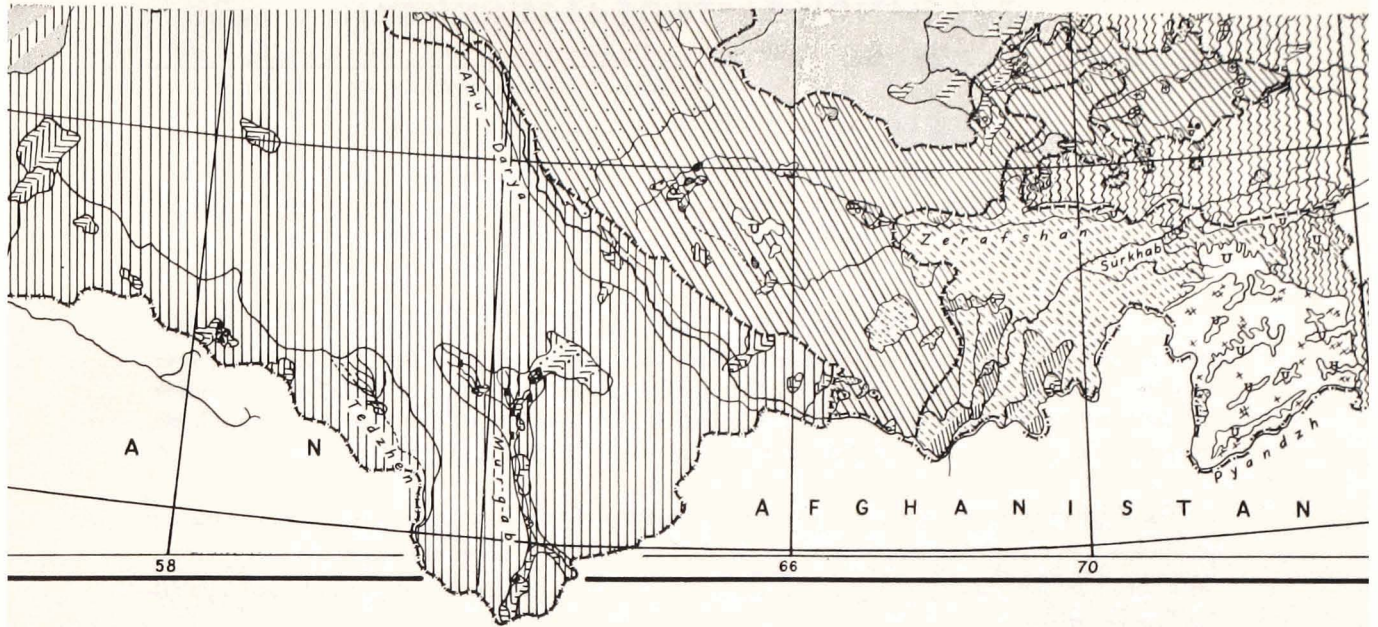


Tashqurghan and surroundings. Scale: 1 : 250 000. (From: Royal Afghan Cartographic Institute, 1960.)

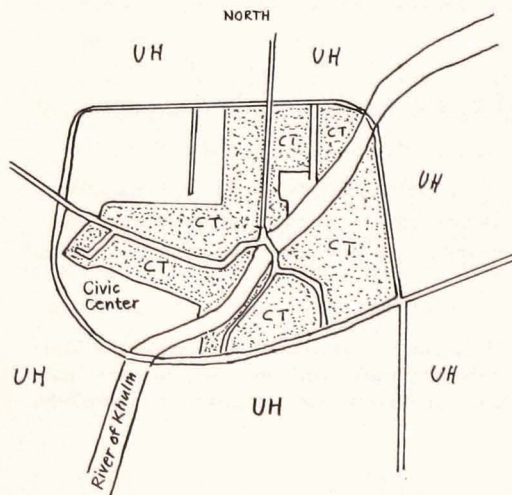
Notes: Highway on the right side of map goes to Qunduz. Highway on the left side of map goes to Mazar-e Sharif. Highway at the bottom of map goes to Aibak and further on to Kabul via Pul-e Khumri, Salang and Charikar.



Ethical distribution in Afghanistan. (From: Wint, G, ed.: Asia Handbook.)



Ethnic distribution north of Amu Darya in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (From: Krader, L: Peoples of Central Asia.)



Tashqurghan—central part of the town. Scale: 1 : 5 000. (From: The Future Land Use Plan, Kabul 1970; made by civ. eng. Breshna.)

CT = Commerce and trade area; UH = Urban housing area.

As far as I know this is the only official map of Tashqurghan. The survey of this map was made during my first stay in Tashqurghan in May 1970. Since then aerial photographs have also been taken of the province of Samangan but there are still no detailed maps of the town.

The traditional city of Central Asia was an administrative, trade, and craft-manufacturing center. It was a walled city; the building material was shaped and dried clay blocks—sun-dried brick plastered with a thinner clay and water mixture ... Each city had a bazaar, either a periodic fair or a permanent market place. The great cities had permanent bazaars, each with their own gate and wall, streets, and inhabitants with their own laws and customs. The bazaar was the center of manufacture and commercial activity, also of news and gossip (KRADER, p. 218).

The Afghan craftsmen are found either in the bazaars of the towns or in private manufacturing centres, i.e. in private homes in the towns or out in the villages, but in most cases the bazaar serves as a common denominator being chiefly the *point de vente* for all handicrafts, manufactured goods and other articles.

In Afghanistan most of the craftsmen still work in the bazaar itself, in which each street is often dedicated to a special craft, or commercial activity.¹

ELPHINSTONE (1815) gives a very valuable account of the various craftsmen working in an Afghan bazaar in the early 19th century. According to a townsman of Kabul, he says, there are 75 trades which ELPHINSTONE reduces to 32 distinct ones:

Jewellers, gold and silver smiths, bookseller, bookbinders, stationers, makers of kullumdaums, (a sort of ink-stand and pen-case, of which, every man who can write has one), seal-engravers, sellers of armour, seller of shields, (these shields are of buffaloes or rhinocero's hides), gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, polishers of steel, sellers of bows and arrows, sellers of glass ornaments for women, three descriptions of shoe-makers, boot-makers, button makers, silk-thread sellers, goldwire and gold-thread sellers, saddlers, farriers, painters, fruiterers, cooks, soup-sellers, tobacconists, druggists, perfumers, sellers of sherbet and of fullodch, confectioners, embroiderers, and people, whose business is to sew ornaments on clothes of all descriptions, from jewels to spangels. I omit all people who sell the necessaries of life, as butchers, bakers, mercers, &c ... (p. 257).

Another account of various crafts is given by MOHN (1930) who made the following observation on the bazaar of Kandahar:

(In the bazaar there are approximately) 137 cloth and clothes-sellers, 85 shoemakers, 85 smiths, 77 silversmiths, 49 tailors, 41 coppersmiths, 35 carpenters, 35 gunsmiths, 26 potters, 26 fur-sellers, 22 bakers, 19 saddlemakers, 12 bookbinders, 11 fancy stoneworkers, 6 watchmakers, 4 feltsaddle-makers and 3 water-pipe makers (p. 349; translated from Swedish by C.-J.C.).²

¹ This was for example the case in Kabul (HAMILTON, p. 377) and Kandahar (op. cit. p 197) as well as in several other towns in Turkestan such as Bokhara (op. cit. p 34) and Taskhent (SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 174).

² Cf. HAMILTON's account on the bazaar of Kandahar: "85 barbers, 201 silk merchants, 135 potters, 170 milk vendors, 231 butchers and 300 general merchants" (p. 179).

Concerning the technical skill MOHN states that:

The technical skill is many times astonishing if one keeps in mind how primitive the methods of work still are to a large extent (p. 236; translated from Swedish by C-J.C.).¹

HAMILTON (1906) is of a similar opinion:

Those workers in metals, whether they are the ironmongers or silversmiths, smelters of copper or the moulders of brass, are worthy their hire, and bring to their labours an extraordinary patience and exactitude. The silversmiths are, perhaps, the most wonderful craftsmen, although the men who trace fantastic designs upon metal vessels with blunt instruments are not to be despised (p. 378).

MASSON (1842) on the other hand has not a very high opinion of the crafts:

Indeed the manufactures of the country do not rise to mediocrity, and are suitable only to the consumption of the lower and less wealthy classes ... As a class, the artisans, and there are nearly all descriptions, while not inexpert to meet the wants of their customers, do not excel. There is not an article made or wrought in Kâbal, (= Kabul; author's remark), which is not surpassed by specimens from other countries (vol. II, pp. 288-289).²

Personally I agree with MOHN and HAMILTON.

The technical skill of the craftsmen is generally outstanding if one compares the methods of working and the technological resources with the results. Naturally there are bad and unskilled craftsmen in Afghanistan as in every society but as a whole the craftsmen constitute a well-trained, adroit and capable group of artisans, who carry out their trades almost to perfection using the hereditary knowledge which is characteristic of each profession.

I should like to point out a few facts, which must be taken into consideration, when one tries to obtain a general idea of the handicrafts of Afghanistan.

1. The tools are simple and often locally made and one is often struck by the scantiness of the implements.
2. The workshops are primitive in a sense, often without electricity and other modern facilities, with an open fire or a charcoal-hearth as the only *modus procedendi* for working on metal. Modern machinery, working-benches, gauges, etc. are almost without exception absent.
3. The "no-waste and re-use idea" is notable. In each craft most of what we would call left-overs are worked upon and used again. Old objects are treated and through re-usage given new functions.
4. In almost every craft there is a certain degree of imitation thus bringing new models, shapes and ideas (mostly from the Western hemisphere) into a traditional somewhat formalistic flora of designs. Clothes, furniture, shoes, guns, etc. are copied from "European" models and afterwards locally manufactured all over the country.

Today there is a decline in Afghan handicraft, which will be seen in detail later in this study. The reasons for this obvious decline which concerns most of the various crafts depend to a large extent on the competition between traditional hand-made articles and cheap imported mass-products, which latter sometimes are also easier to use, and on the severe economic situation which

¹ "Den tekniska färdigheten är mången gång förbluffande, om man tar i betänkanke, huru primitiva arbetsmetoderna i stort sett äro i dag."

² The bazaar of Kabul has among others been described by MASSON (vol. I, pp. 267-270); BURNES (vol. I, pp. 145-147); VIGNE (pp. 159-161); HAMILTON (chapter XV); GRAY (chapter VI); FURON (pp. 60-64); FOX (pp. 19-22).

Afghanistan is facing, which reduces the purchasing-power of the entire population. This can be elucidated with a few short examples: Cheap plastic and aluminium bowls tend to replace old copper ones. Western second-hand clothes are cheaper to buy than traditional woven materials, Turcman carpet-knitters use imported chemical colours of low quality instead of natural herbal colours and madder, *rojan*, because they are easier and cheaper to get, resulting in carpets with repulsive colours,¹ etc.

Most of the craftsmen in Afghanistan belong to other ethnical groups than the Pashtoons (=“Afghans”), and craftsmen are predominantly found among the Tajiks (ELPHINSTONE, p. 254 and p. 312; BURNES, vol. II, p. 269; BELLEW, 1880, p. 112; BELLEW, 1862, p. 15; DEMONT-CENTLIVRES, p. 61; WILBER, pp. 46–47; et. al.) and also among the Uzbaks (SCHURMANN, p. 96 and *passim*).²

It is necessary to remember that the craftsmen are in general not Pashtoons and strictly speaking there is no such thing as “Afghan handicraft” but more correctly Tajik handicraft, Uzbek handicraft, Turcman carpet-knitting, etc.

This circumstance was mentioned by ELPHINSTONE,

No Afghaun ever keeps a shop, or exerceises any handicraft trade (p. 254);

and by BELLEW,

... no Afghan, unless, indeed, the very poorest of the poor, will ever engage in any retail trade, keep a shop, or pursue any mechanical trade or handicraft ... (1862, p. 24);

and finally by SCHURMANN (1962):

Artisanry is highly developed among the urban Uzbeks. Together with the Tadjiks, they form the chief artisan population of Turkestan. Pottery-making, iron and copper work, weaving, glazing, carpentry, etc., are Uzbek specialties. Many of the small merchants of Turkestan’s bazaar towns are also Uzbek (p. 98).

According to my own experience from my field-work in various parts of Afghanistan I have seen very few “Afghans” involved in handicrafts and in the bazaar of Tashqurghan there are as far as I know no “Afghans” working as craftsmen.

But there are naturally exceptions and some craft is carried out by “Afghans”, such as weaving of tent-cloth by wandering weavers mostly Wardaki or Akkakhel, felt-making, and manufacturing of minor articles such as skin-sacks, wollen ropes, thread, etc.

Craftsmen are further found among Hazaras (textile work) and Turcmans (silk, carpets, etc.).

Among the Hazaras of Hazarajat there are very few specialised craftsmen. FERDINAND (1959) says that there are blacksmiths everywhere, and as an innovation also carpenters; some men and women are involved in leather-preparing and manufacturing of leather products, such as churning-sacks, leather-sacks for water, shoemaking, etc., and the women spin weave, make *kilims*, felt, *barak*-cloth, pottery, etc. (pp. 36–37).

Some Hazara-women also knit socks and gloves which together with some embroidery-work are brought for sale to the bazaars of Kabul and other towns.

¹ Observation from Aqcha.

² Cf. “Most Uzbek men in Kabul are employed in various kinds of commercial activities—e.g., in the clothing business

(both wholesale and retail), and in the operation of bakeries, restaurants, public baths, and barber shops. A few are engaged in the export-import trade” (SJOBORG: p. 75).

THE BAZAAR TYPES OF AFGHANISTAN

The bazaars of Afghanistan do not constitute a homogenous system but more a complex structure of various types of bazaars which usually are collectively referred to by the term "bazaar".

In order to make the role of the bazaar of Tashqurghan clear it is necessary to elucidate the term bazaar and arrange the various types of bazaars into a classified system.

Basically there are two main types of bazaars in Afghanistan, temporary bazaars and permanent bazaars.

The temporary bazaars, or *kochi-bazaars*, are, as the name implies, selling bazaars held at intervals in various parts of the country though mostly in Hazarajat, Ghor and Paktia where the nomads, *kochis*, sell their own products and buy "imported" merchandise, often transported from Pakistan, Kabul or various Afghan manufacturing centres to the temporary bazaar by so called trading-nomads or *tejar*.

The best known *kochi-bazaars* are Abul in Pasaband south of Band-e Bayan, Gomab in Chaqcharan and Charas on the upper Murghab river, all of them situated in Hazarajat. These bazaars were opened about 1930, earlier there being only one large *kochi-bazaar* in Kerman in the western part of Hazarajat.

The bazaars usually last from about two weeks up to a month and a half (FERDINAND, 1969, p. 141). Minor *kochi-bazaars* are also found in Badghis and Maimana.

The size of the *kochi-bazaars* is mentioned by FERDINAND who in 1960 observed 300-350 trading-tents in the bazaar of Gomab, whereas Abul probably has somewhat more (op. cit. p. 139).

FERDINAND also remarks that:

This nomad trade has, as far as I can see, already passed its climax; the bazars have become smaller, the trading facilities for the local population have improved somewhat ... (op. cit. p. 141).¹

The permanent bazaars on the other hand are more complex in their structure and operate in several different ways.

Firstly, all permanent bazaars can be regarded as either manufacturing bazaars, or selling bazaars, or combined manufacturing and selling bazaars.

A *manufacturing bazaar* is a place which almost exclusively manufactures a certain product/products on a large scale and sells it/them often via traders to other bazaars and retailers where the product/products are sold to local consumers. A good example of this type of bazaar is the wicker

¹ A fuller account of nomad-trade is found in FERDINAND 1962, and in FERDINAND 1969, pp. 138-143.

bazaar in Paktia which manufactures wicker-work and sells them in quantity to the wicker-sellers in the bazaars of Jalalabad, Tashqurghan, Kabul, etc.

A *selling bazaar* is a bazaar which exclusively sells products bought from manufacturing bazaars (and private manufacturing centres), retailers, traders and from other countries; for example parts of the bazaars of Kabul such as the carpet-sellers' bazaars close to the river of Kabul and on Jad-e Maiwand, the *kilim*-sellers' bazaars close to the Head Post Office and on Jad-e Maiwand, etc.

A *combined manufacturing and selling bazaar* is a bazaar which manufactures its own products, sells its own products and resells products bought/imported from elsewhere. This type is the most common sort.

A special type of bazaar is found in northern Afghanistan (and Turkestan), namely permanent bazaars (all types) with market-days, *ruz-e bazaar*.

Most of the bazaars of the northern provinces of Afghanistan operate in this way and the system is such that each permanent bazaar has one or two special days a week when people come from the whole area to buy and sell things in the town or village where the bazaar is situated.

BURNES (1834) states that:

The custom of having market days is uncommon in India and Cabool, but of universal use in Toorkistan (vol. II, p. 9).

The same is also noted by YATE (1888, p. 317).

The tradition of having market-days has further been mentioned by WOOD (1872, p. 156) and MOORCRAFT (1838, vol. II, p. 450). Two more quotations can further elucidate the situation:

... periodic fair ... it exists in full force to this day in Toorkistan, north of Hindoo Koosh (BURNES, 1842, p. 283).

and

All bazaars in Badakshán, as well as in Kunduz and Koláb, are opened only on market-days fixed for each bazaar, when the people from the surrounding countries assemble to exchange goods, mostly by barter (YULE, p. 442).

Market-days were also held in several other towns of Turkestan, for example in Khiva, Dushanbe, Tashkent (SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 175 and 211), Kokand (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 14), Shaar (op. cit. p. 70), Karshi (op. cit. p. 79), Bokhara (op. cit. p. 85), Merv (HAMILTON, pp. 51-52), Yulatan (op. cit. p. 114), Andkhui (op. cit. p. 259), etc.

Many of the present bazaars in Afghan Turkestan with market-days are smaller than the bazaar of Tashqurghan where the market-days nowadays are hardly observed, with the exception for the Tim and the live-stock market, *gosfandbazaar*. On the market-days in Tashqurghan embroidery, textiles, food-stuffs and live-stock are brought to the Central Town Bazaar to be sold.

In Shibargan, which according to my own opinion has a very poor bazaar, the market-days are held on Monday and Thursday each week; in Maimana on Monday and Thursday; in Aibak on Thursday; in Dawlatabad-e Balkh on Monday and Thursday; in Pul-e Khumri on Friday, etc.

The bazaar of Shibargan, which I had the opportunity of studying for a few days in February 1972, will be shortly described as an elucidating example.

Shibargan, being the capital of the province of Jawzjan is situated in the heart of Afghan Turkestan, and constitutes a normal business and trade centre for the population of the province. The



Market-day in Dawlatabad-e Balkh (*karakul* traders).

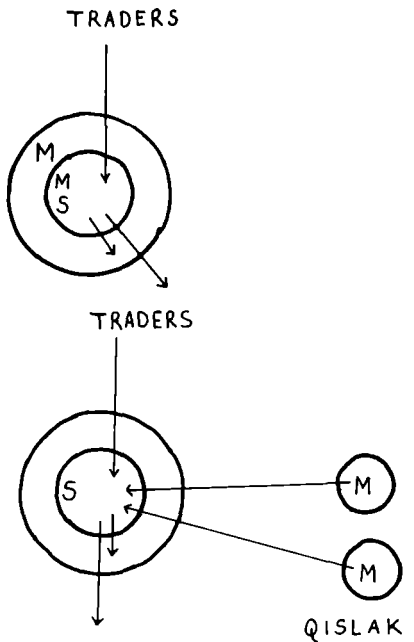
bazaar, situated in the centre of the town, is as already mentioned very poor and quite small compared to Tashqurghan. Technically it is a non-covered mainly selling bazaar with very little manufacturing within the bazaar itself. Among the few products manufactured in the bazaar can be noted prepared leather and woodwork though no turned and laquered products as in Tashqurghan. Most of the shops are *bazaz*, *baqal*, and *banjara*.

On market-days products manufactured in the *qislaks* out in the province are brought to the bazaar by camel caravans and the main products seem to be *karakul*, sheep, wool-products, food-stuffs, garments for donkeys and camels, etc. Other traders come to the bazaar and display their merchandise mostly consisting of second-hand western clothes, various implements, household utensils, etc.

The bazaar is also visited by travelling *pathragars* and travelling barbers who put up their stands in the streets.

Almost exactly the same structure is found in Dawlatabad-e Balkh, which I visited in March 1972, where *karakul*, sheep, wool-products and food-stuffs are brought to the bazaar on the market-days for selling. The bazaar itself is in my opinion, as poor as the one in Shibargan. Earlier the market-days were of very great importance in Dawlatabad-e Balkh when the Turcmans brought their carpets for sale and traders from all over the country gathered in the town but today most of the carpets are brought directly from the *qislaks* to Mazar-e Sharif and sometimes Kabul for selling because the profit increases in that way. With better communications the local market-days tend to lose their traditional importance and the old system is declining in favour of more "centralized" trading in the major towns of Afghanistan.

The modes of production are different in the permanent bazaars and in those with market-days. In the first group most of the products are manufactured in the bazaar itself like in Tashqurghan,



The two basic ways of supplying a bazaar. The inner circle represents the bazaar; the outer circle the town where the bazaar is situated. M = manufacturing; S = selling.

Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat, while in the other group the products such as carpets, implements, wool-products, yurts, pottery, leather-work, etc. are manufactured in the private homes out in the province and brought to the bazaar for selling. Naturally products are to some extent manufactured outside the permanent bazaars and brought in for selling but this is not the *main* way of supplying the bazaar with merchandise.

In Tashqurghan for example, all the embroidery is made outside the bazaar and brought to the Tim for selling on market-days.

But the two different ways of producing and supplying are distinct and need to be kept in mind as specific characteristics of two main types of Afghan bazaars.¹

MARKOWSKI (1932) in his excellent and partly still valid study on material culture has a long passage on bazaars, which I think is still appropriate and therefore worth quoting:

Der grösste Teil des Lokalhandels spielt sich im Bazar ab; darunter versteht man den Stadtteil mit offenen Ladengeschäften. Es handelt sich hierbei mit Ausnahme des Getride- und Mehlverkaufs immer nur um Kleinverkauf ... Die Bazarläden werden in der Regel von reichen Afghanen meist strassenzugweise errichtet und an Händler vermietet ... Alle Bazarläden sind rohe Lehmkammern von ca. 2 x 2 Metern im Quadrat und 2 Metern Höhe, denen die Vorderwand fehlt. Nach Ladenschluss werden sie durch einzelne Bretter, die oben und unten in einen Pfalz hineingeschoben werden, verschlossen. Das letzte Brett ist mit einer Krampe versehen und kann mittels eines Vorhängeschlosses angeschlossen werden. Die Läden stehen niemals mit Wohnungen in Verbindung, sondern sind vor den Hofmauern in fortlaufender Reihe unmittelbar an der Strasse errichtet. Die Wohnung des Ladeninhabers liegt meistens weit ab in einem der Höfe, oft in einem ganz anderen Stadtteil. Während der Nacht verbleibt die Ware in dem Laden, und die

¹ The supplying and distribution of merchandise is further discussed in part three.

Läden werden ausser durch fest stationierten Militär- und Polizeiposten noch durch Nachtwächter bewacht, die von den Kaufleuten eines ganzen Strassenzuges gemietet werden ...

Der Fussboden der Läden befindet sich nicht in gleicher Höhe mit dem Erdboden, sondern liegt in der Regel in Sitzhöhe, damit sich der Kunde beim Einkauf auf den Rand setzen kann und bei Regenwetter nicht die Gefahr besteht, dass der Raum mit Strassenschmutz verunreinigt word. Zudem hockt der Verkäufer mit gekreuzten Beinen im Laden ... Die inner Einrichtung ... ist sehr primitiv und besteht in der Regel aus einem sich nach hinten erhöhenden Treppenaufbau aus Lehm, auf dessen Stufen die Waren aufgestellt sind ... (pp. 120-122).

MARKOWSKI's general description presents the traditional bazaar in a nutshell. Being still adequate though compendious, it is a suitable conclusion to this general discussion on bazaars, leaving the way open for a more thorough analysis of *one* specific Afghan bazaar—the bazaar of Tashqurghan.

TASHQURGHAN — A GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The town of Tashqurghan¹ is situated in the province, *wilayat*, of Samangan² in northern Afghanistan. The town itself lies close to the Kabul-Mazar-e Sharif highway, approximately 400 kilometres north of the capital of Kabul in the part of Central Asia which is generally known as Turkestan.

The province of Samangan borders the Afghan provinces of Balkh, Bamian, Baghlan and Kunduz and in the north the province borders the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the frontier river of Amu Darya.

The capital of the province or governorate of Samangan is named Aibak, where the local administration for the whole province is steered by a so called *wali* or governor. The *wali* (in 1972 Samad Bakshi) of Samangan is nominated by the Ministry of Interior, approved by the Cabinet and appointed by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, Mohammad Zahir Shah.

From an administrative point of view the whole province of Samangan is divided into three minor districts, *uluswali*, or sub-governorates, each with a separate sub-governor and a separate administration. The province is thus divided into the following sub-governorates: Tashqurghan (Khulm), Daresuf and Ruidoab. Depending on the sub-governorate of Tashqurghan is also a minor district not having the status of a sub-governorate but referred to as an *alaqadari*, or "minor sub-governorate", which is situated in Kaldar on the southern banks of the river of Amu Darya.

The sub-governorate of Tashqurghan consists of the town of Tashqurghan itself which is the local capital and nine large villages which directly depend on Tashqurghan:

Firoznakhchir, Sayad, Saeghanchi, Najebabad, Babasediq (Torkmania), Deh Wardah, Deh Hasan, Ghaziabad Bala, and Ghaziabad Payan. Twenty-nine small villages are dependent on these nine larger villages.

The local administration of the sub-governorate of Tashqurghan, Municipality or *hukumat*, is situated in Tashqurghan itself. The present sub-governor (1972) or *uluswal* (formerly and still in colloquial language called *hakim*) of Tashqurghan, Mohammad Nasim Argandiwal is nominated by the Ministry of Interior and appointed by the Prime Minister of Afghanistan (in 1971 Noor Ahmad Etemadi who was replaced by Dr A. Zahir in the end of 1971). The sub-governors of Tashqurghan have changed rapidly in the last few years. When I first visited Tashqurghan in 1970 Mohammad Habib was sub-governor and between him and the present sub-governor there

¹ HUMLUM estimates the number of inhabitants of Tashqurghan to 30 000 (p. 132).

² The province of Samangan has according to *Kabul Times Annual 1967* 193 553 inhabitants (p. 146).



Tashqurghan: *Gumbad*-houses.

have been three more subgovernors, Gholam Osman, Aurang Zeb and Mohammad Omar Ismati. The present sub-governor is a Pashtoon.¹

The town of Tashqurghan (the word is of Turcic origin meaning "the fort of stone") is divided into four sections called *nahija* and each section has its own local leader, *negaran*. The four sections are divided into 145 minor divisions, *guzar*, and each *guzar* has a representative called *meshr*, who is nominated by the people and appointed by the sub-governor.

Each *uluswali*, i.e. sub-governorate, elects one man to the *ulusivijirgah* in Kabul. The parliament of Afghanistan, *shura*, consists of the *ulusivijirgah* ("The house of the people") and the *meshrano jirgah* ("The house of the elders"). Besides the sub-governor who represents the government there is also in Tashqurghan, as in all Afghan sub-governorates, a mayor, *sharwal*, who is elected by the local people.

In the year 1342 S.H.² Tashqurghan changed its name to Khulm, which is now the official name for both the town and the entire sub-governorate but most of the local people still prefer the old name to the new. Before the reorganization of the Afghan provinces in 1342 S.H. both Tashqurghan and Aibak were considered as *lukumat-e kalan* or sub-governorates of the main province of Mazar-e Sharif with Mazar-e Sharif itself as capital.

¹ A few months after I left Tashqurghan the sub-governor was transferred to Andkhui.

² 1342 S.H. = 1963 A.D.

Tashqurghan is probably one of the last traditional towns in Afghanistan. The present town, erected during the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747–1773 A.D.), is entirely constructed of mud-brick with the typical Uzbek beehive shaped cupola-houses, *gumbad*. Some of the original structures from that time are still left, for example the fort, *Bala Hissar*, built by Qalij (=the sword) Amin Ali Beg, the *kamisari*-fort for the border police built during the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman (1880–1901) and the large *Jahan-e ma* gardens built by Ahmad Shah Durrani.

There are only five modern buildings in the entire town. The oldest is the government hotel built in 1950, the official building (police, administration, governor's office, etc.) from 1969, the court from 1971, the electric plant from 1971 and finally the hospital from 1972. When I first visited Tashqurghan in 1970 the town had neither electricity nor running water. In 1971 a small diesel electricity plant was built which supplies the official buildings and some private houses with electricity for five hours a day. At the end of 1972 street electricity will be supplied in Tashqurghan, and in the same year the local authorities hope to have completed a small tap-water supply for the town itself from the well of Chasm-e Hayat in the Tangi (=gorge) Tashqurghan six kilometres from the town-centre.

The economy of Tashqurghan is based mainly on three factors:

1. Agriculture and gardening
2. Cattle breeding
3. Craft and trade

Tashqurghan is situated on the steppe/semi-desert and the local population distinguishes between three types of land: Cultivable land, *zamin*, uncultivable land (=steppe), *dasht*, and mountains, *ko*.

The agriculture follows the traditional Afghan system where the cultivated land is divided into two types, dry-land farming, *lalmi*, and irrigated farming, *abi*.

The two most important products in agriculture are wheat and fruits, the latter being referred to as "gardening", *zamin-e baghi*.

In the whole *uluswali* of Khulm except the *alagadari* of Kaldar the land is thus classified according to statistics made by the Municipality in 1346 S.H.:

Irrigated fruit gardens	approximately 12 000 <i>jerebs</i> ¹
Dry-land farming	approximately 220 000 <i>jerebs</i>
Irrigated fields (mostly wheat)	approximately 200 000 <i>jerebs</i>
Uncultivated land	approximately 2.2 milj. <i>jerebs</i>

The farmers of the *uluswali* of Khulm usually get one crop a year but sometimes they can have an additional corn crop directly after the wheat.

On the dry-lands wheat is planted at the end of February and harvested in June and on the irrigated lands planting takes place in October and the harvesting in June.

Besides wheat and fruits the most important agricultural products are almonds and cotton.

¹ One *jereb* is 1 954 m².

In cattle-breeding the *karakul* is the most important animal and in the whole *uluswali* there are about 80 000 *karakul* sheep used for the production of furs.

A large number of farmers, *dehqan*, are tenants (no figures available) who lease their land from landowners, living both in Tashqurghan and Kabul. Landowners are called *zamindar* and in northern Afghanistan also *baj*. One example: Abdul Hamid in Kabul owns about 470 *jerehs* of land just outside Tashqurghan which is rented to local farmers; the rent which is collected in cash by Abdul Hamid is yearly about 60 000 afghanis. In this way there are two categories of farmers: Landowning farmers and tenant farmers; the latter category being divided into two sub-groups, farmers with their own implements and farmers who rent their implements.

The literature on Afghanistan gives only a few brief descriptions of Tashqurghan; I will quote some of them.

YATE coming to the town from outside on his travels says:

Approached from the west, the latter town appears to be nothing but a huge mass of gardens, composed of apricot and other trees, surrounded by the usual mud-walls, and it looks double or treble the size of Mazar (pp. 315-316).

MOORCRAFT too estimates that Tashqurghan is bigger than Mazar-e Sharif (vol. II, p. 489) and he guesses that it comprises 20 000 houses (op. cit. p. 449), while BURNES says that Tashqurghan has approximately 10 000 inhabitants (vol. I, pp. 205-206).

The famous fruit-gardens are mentioned and praised by several early travellers (BURNES, vol. I, p. 230 and vol. II, pp. 201-202 and p. 244; MOHN, pp. 85-86; WOOD, p. 265; MOORCRAFT, vol. II, pp. 411 and 453; HAMILTON, vide infra; SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH, vide p. 20; et al.). ELPHINSTONE gives the following short note on Tashqurghan:

Khoollloom, which lies south of Bulkh, is much more hilly and barren. Tausk Koorghaun, its capital, is, however, a place of consequence, and contains near eight thousand houses (p. 464).

The town-plan of Tashqurghan is observed by MOORCRAFT:

The streets are straight, of a moderate breadth, intersecting each other at right angles, and have commonly a stream of water running through them (vol. II, p. 449).

FERRIER (1856) describes Tashqurghan thus:

It stands on the plain, and consists of four or five villages, now become quarters of the town, united with each other by gardens; there are bazaars, caravanserais, and baths; and the population may amount to fifteen thousand inhabitants (p. 210).

In HAMILTON's classical though not always reliable compilation the following appropriate account is found:

Tashkurgan, a cheerless group of villages enclosed by a mud wall, is the great trade mart of Afghan-Turkestan and a distributing point for the merchandise which caravans bring there from India and Bokhara. The wall, which is 3 miles in circumference, is pierced by wooden gates, and the houses of the villages number between 15 000 and 20 000. The population is subject to fluctuation. It falls as low as 15 000 in the winter season, rising with great rapidity so soon as the opening of the passes permits the resumption of the trade relations with China, Russian Turkestan and India. Each house is protected by an 8-foot high mud wall, which imparts a dreary and monotonous appearance to the streets.

The houses are built of clay and sundried bricks, with one storey and a domed roof. As a rule, they stand amid a profusion of fruit-trees; and, in the approach from the west, the town is lost in a maze of fruitgardens. The streets are straight and only of moderate breadth; they intersect each other at right angles and down the centre of each there is an irrigating channel. A branch of the Doaba river, increased by many rivulets, runs through the town, but it is absorbed by the soil soon after it has passed Old Khulm (pp. 254-255).

Finally, a good description of Tashqurghan is given by SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH (1928) thus describing the town:

The province of Afghan Turkestan is, perhaps, one of the most important in the country, and is, indeed, equal to Herat or Kandahar. It has a number of flourishing industrial centres, among them Tashkurgan and Mazar-i-Sharief, a place to which the Russians have always attached much importance. From Tashkurgan caravans go to India and Bokhara. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference and has about twenty thousand houses, each of which is surrounded by a mud wall of its own. The whole town is thickly planted with fruit trees, and through the middle of the streets run irrigating channels. There is a crowded bazaar, in which cattle, sheep, mules, goats and horses are sold, cotton goods and silk stuffs from India, and fruits and nuts from the countryside. The Hindus act as money-lenders and bankers, and extract exorbitant interest (p. 15).

He says further on that "The bazaars of Kabul are in reality not so fine as those of some other Afghan towns" (op. cit. p. 17).¹ The descriptions of Tashqurghan found in Afghan publications are not too exact and often highly uninformed. Two examples:

On the other side of the gorge is the small city of Tashqurghan with its picturesque bazaar whose ceiling was once covered with porcelain vases (*Kabul Times Annual*, 1967, p. 257).

and,

A particularly interesting bazaar is called 'team'. Here the roofing is in brick studded by Chinese saucers ... rarely to be seen today. Each bazar area is devoted to a special type of activity or merchandise: copper beaters, wool twine spinners, weavers, lacquer workers, silversmiths, cloth merchants, dry goods, vegetables, etc. (DUPREE, *The Road to Balkh*, pp. 39-40).

The beehive shaped cupola houses are characteristic for this part of Afghanistan. These structures, *gumbad*, consist of an arched dome made of raw or baked bricks mostly plastered with mud and with a smoke-hole erected generally on the top of rectangular or square shaped buildings. Usually there is one *gumbad* covering each room and the cupolas are quite small, perhaps twenty feet in diameter at the base.²

SCHURMANN says that

The *gumbad* zone actually begins in Turkestan. Flatroofed houses still predominate in Pul-i Kumri. But as soon as one passes through the Tāngī-i Tās Qurghān and gets a view of the Kholm region *gumbads* begin to appear in great number (p. 358).

and further on

... the *gumbad* zone stretches deep in to Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan. Khurāsān and Turkestan seem to be the principal regions of diffusion of the *gumbad* type of architecture (op. cit. p. 359).

¹ Cf. HAMILTON: "The bazaars of Kabul are quite unworthy of the capital" (p. 376).

² Cf. DUPAIGNE'S account on *gumbad*-houses on p. 60.

In Tashqurghan *gumbad* houses are mixed with flat-roofed houses as is often the case all over the *gumbad*-area and in general one can say about Tashqurghan that most of the private houses in what is called "urban housing areas" are *gumbad* ones, while most of the houses on the Main Street and in the Central Town Bazaar are ordinary one storey flat-roofed houses.

Population

From an ethnical point of view the population of Tashqurghan is rather complex.

According to HAMILTON

The population is typical of a frontier region, and a sprinkling of natives from every quarter of Central Asia may be found here (p. 255).

This statement belongs however to the history of Tashqurghan and is not relevant today.

The two main ethnical groups are Tajiks and Uzbaks who together constitute the majority of the population. Besides these there are Pashtoons, Turcmans, Arabs, very few Qirghiz and Qazak. As a rule there are few or no Hazaras, no Hindus, Jews, Sikhs, or Shias.

The Pashtoons are not originally from this part of the country but immigrated from other parts of Afghanistan, mostly during the 19th century (YATE, p. 267), more or less by order of Amir Abdur Rahman who wished to reduce the power of the Uzbaks by introducing Pashtoons into Uzbek country, thus weakening the strain.

Although Tashqurghan is situated in Afghan Turkestan the Turcman population is a minority-group, a fact which among others has been pointed out by YAVORSKI saying that in some parts of Afghan Turkestan the Uzbaks form the majority of the population; this is especially the case in Qunduz, Andkhui, Shibargan and Tashqurghan (p. 231).

SCHURMANN is of a similar opinion:

The Turkmens form one of the main population groups of the western part of Afghan Turkestan. Numerically, however, they are far fewer than the Uzbeks (p. 85).

Most of the Turcmans are nomads engaged in breeding *karakul* sheep (JARRING, p. 35; WILBER, p. 50; SCHURMANN, p. 85; ASLANOV, p. 77) and to some extent also in agriculture as settled farmers (SCHURMANN, p. 91; WILBER, p. 50; ASLANOV, p. 77). Today most of the Turcmans live in the small villages north of Tashqurghan.

The Uzbaks are numerous in northern Afghanistan, SCHURMANN says

The Uzbeks are the principal Turkic population of Afghanistan, as well as the principal population of Afghan Turkestan (p. 96).

According to JARRING there are both Uzbaks and Turcmans living in Tashqurghan but the Uzbaks do not constitute the majority-group in the town (pp. 63 and 36). BURNES also mentions an Uzbek population in Tashqurghan (vol. II, p. 267) and a similar account is given by FERRIER (1856, p. 215).¹

¹ According to ASLANOV "The Tajiks constitute the principal population of the northern region ... in Kataghan and in Mazar-e Sharif provinces. There the Tajiks make up a majority of the population" (pp. 67-68). And further "Uzbaks occupy the central part of northern Afghanistan ... particularly ... Tashqurghan" (p. 72).

The Uzbaks in the area are mostly merchants, craftsmen and farmers (JARRING, p. 52; SCHURMANN, p. 96; ASLANOV, p. 75).

The Tajiks, who are spread all over the country might today be the principal ethnical group in the town of Tashqurghan.

The Tájik extend all over the plain country of Afghanistan from Herat to the Khybar and from Kandahar to the Oxus, and even into Kashgar (BELLEW, 1888, p. 110).

The diffusion of the Tajiks is also stated by SCHURMANN:

The Tadjiks form one of the principal populations, not only of Afghanistan, but of several of the Soviet Central Asiatic Republics and of the Sarikol region of Chinese Sinkiang (p. 73).

According to my own experience Tajiks together with Tajiks intermarried with Uzbaks, who mostly consider themselves as Tajiks and not Uzbaks, constitute the biggest ethnic group in the town itself, whereas the Uzbek is the majority group in the rural area outside Tashqurghan. FERRIER also found the Tajiks in "great majority" (p. 211).

The frequent intermarrying of Tajiks and Uzbaks as well as the vast area inhabited by Tajiks was already mentioned by ELPHINSTONE:

The Tadjiks are not united into one body ... They are mixed with the Uzbeks through the greater part of their dominions ... (p. 312).

and further on:

The Tadjiks are most numerous about towns. They compose the principal part of the population round Caubul, Candahar, Ghuznce (= Ghazni), Heraut, and, Bulkh (= Balkh) (p. 313).

The Tajiks mostly work as merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers and craftsmen when living in towns (ELPHINSTONE, p. 254 and p. 312; WILBER, pp. 46-47; BELLEW, 1880, p. 112; BELLEW, 1862, p. 15; BURNES, vol. II, p. 269; WOOD, p. 265; MOORCRAFT, vol. II, p. 450); although there are Tajik peasants in Afghan Turkestan (SCHURMANN, p. 75; WILBER, pp. 46-47; ASLANOV, p. 70).

Finally there are Arabs and *Sayeds* living in Tashqurghan, the latter being subject to strict endogamy (SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH, p. 45; SCHURMANN, p. 104). These groups are however in a minority.

In the days of the caravan-trade quite a lot of Hindus lived in Tashqurghan, mostly as merchants, traders and bankers; Hindus also sold dyes and drugs in the bazaar (MOORCRAFT, vol. II, p. 413, 432 and 451; FERRIER, p. 212; HAMILTON, p. 255; SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH, p. 15).¹ Up to around 1935 a small group of Jews were also living in Tashqurghan, according to local sources. The Jews were mostly engaged in the silk-trade, but have now moved to Maimana, Mazar-e Sharif and Herat.

¹ In his essay on caravan-trade in Afghanistan RATHJENS also states that Hindus were living in northern Afghanistan and that the "Shikapuri-bankers" had an agent in Tashqurghan (pp. 212-213).

History

Tashqurghan is situated close to the ancient site of Khulm, once a religious centre with several Buddhist temples and monasteries, which has given its name to the Tashqurghan of today. Ancient Khulm was probably founded in the 7th century A.D. and today the only remainder of the old towns is a huge mound.

It is said that Khulm was destroyed by Ahmad Shah Durrani who is also supposed to be the founder of Tashqurghan. After the death of Ahmad Shah Durrani his sons lost control over the northern parts of their father's kingdom. This resulted in constant fights between the local Uzbek chiefs of Balkh, Qunduz, Tashqurghan and Haibak and several severe attacks on what was left of Khulm.

The chief of Khulm, Mir Qilich Ali Beg of the Muytan tribe, moved his capital to Tashqurghan and by 1824 Khulm was more or less abandoned. Until the unification of the northern provinces under the rule of the Amirs of Kabul, Tashqurghan continued to be one of the several independent Uzbek khanates in the northern regions.

Mir Qilich Ali Beg ruled Tashqurghan and a large area around the town from 1786 until his death in 1817 thus establishing close relations with the neighbouring khanates of Qunduz and Maimana and also with the emirate of Bokhara.

After the death of Mir Qilich Ali Beg the khanate of Qunduz grew stronger under its powerful chief Murad Beg of the Kataghan tribe. After Murad Beg's death around 1840, the son of Mir Qilich Ali Beg, Mir Wali (also called Mohammad Amin Beg), reasserted Tashqurghan's authority throughout his father's territory.

Meanwhile Kabul extended its power north of the Hindu Kush under Amir Dost Mohammad who in 1840 established his temporary head-quarters in Tashqurghan when he was trying to obtain support from the tribes of the north in his efforts to regain Kabul from the British.

From this time politics and commerce gradually centered in Mazar-e Sharif which became the capital of the north under Amir Sher Ali Khan and Amir Abdur Rahman; the latter, a nine-year-old boy in 1853, was made governor of Tashqurghan before ascending the throne in Kabul.

Amir Abdur Rahman, in order to prevent the Pashtoon tribes from rising against him, moved many of them outside their own territories. Some of the Pashtoons he settled in Uzbek country around Tashqurghan where they were instructed to act as his guardians against Uzbek intrigue and rebellion.

FERRIER who travelled in this area in the middle of the 19th century remarks that

The state of Khulm exercises a certain influence on those around it, and its preponderance is not inferior to that of Kabul, Herat, or Bokhara (p. 211).

FERRIER also reckoned the total population of the whole khanate to 700 000 people with a standing army of 8 000 cavalry and 3 000 infantry (ibid.).

Added in proof: Some basic information on Tashqurghan is also found in GENTELLE, M. P., L'oasis de Khulm, in Bull. de l'ass. de géogr. français, 1969.

THE BAZAAR OF TASHQURGHAN — A GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The bazaar of Tashqurghan is situated in the middle of the town surrounded by housing areas, approximately fifteen minutes walk from the Kabul-Mazar-e Sharif Highway.

The whole bazaar (which will be referred to in this study as the Central Town bazaar) consists of two sections *markaz-e shahr* situated in the very heart of the town and *bazaar-e birun* situated almost on the outskirts of the town. The *markaz-e shahr* is divided in two parts by the narrow and busy Main Street into which several of the bazaar-streets lead. Most of the houses on Main Street are one storey flat-roofed mud-brick constructions with one side open to the street and mainly containing retail shops.

From both sides of Main Street narrow streets turn into the bazaar which is also constructed of mud-brick and is a mixture of one storey flat-roofed houses and cupola-shaped Uzbek constructions, *gumbad*.

Nowadays the bazaar-streets are rather mixed in the sense that there remain very few highly specialized streets, but chiefly streets where various craftsmen and sellers work together side by side. Earlier, each street was confined to a special group of craftsmen and/or sellers but today when shops become vacant anybody can move in and open a new one without regard to the type of craft to which the street is devoted. Today the only street which is still specialized in the old sense is the Silver Street where all the craftsmen are exclusively silversmiths. Among the selling streets one can mention the *Banjara* Street where almost all the sellers are *banjaras* or "petty traders". All the other bazaar streets are mixed but each street still has a *tendency* towards a certain specialization.

The bazaar of Tashqurghan is technically known as a covered bazaar which means that most of the streets are roofed with a wooden construction and wicker-work.¹ Today most of the "street-roofs" are on the verge of collapse and only a few of them are occasionally repaired and taken care of. Earlier, most of the bazaar streets were covered and up to 1959 even Main Street and the 190 metres long *Baqal* Street were covered but the roofs of these two streets were torn down by order of the governor of Mazar-e Sharif, PARMACH, because it was too difficult for lorries to drive into the bazaar with goods.

¹ Tashqurghan is not the only covered bazaar in this part of Central Asia. Several other towns had the same type, for example, Tashkent (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 174; MOSER, p. 98; KARUTZ, p. 399), Kokand (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 12 et 14; KARUTZ p. 332), Marghilan (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 49), Karshi (op. cit. p. 79), Bokhara (KARUTZ, p. 330; HAMILTON, p. 34), Balkh (op. cit. p. 256), Andkhui (op. cit. p. 259), Charikar (MASSON, vol. III, p. 125) etc.

Today only a few streets are left with complete roofs but the government of Afghanistan has considered re-covering some of the streets again in order to restore what might be the last traditional bazaar of Afghanistan. But this will take time and it is doubtful if the plans will ever be realized.

The fact that Tashqurghan had a covered bazaar was already mentioned by YATE: "... the Tashqurghan bazaar, a long street covered with matting and rafters" (p. 317).

MOORCRAFT observes that there are several craftsmen working in the bazaar of Tashqurghan and he mentions woodworkers, leather-workers and metal-workers (vol. II, p. 452) and that tanned leather is sold in the bazaar (op. cit. p. 450).

WOOD, who also visited the bazaar on his journey to the river Oxus remarks that "... bázár, which, though inferior to that of Kabul, is infinitely superior to the one in Kunduz" (p. 265), and, that "In all the principal towns of Murad Beg's dominions, it is customary to hold them (= market-days) twice a week" (op. cit. p. 156). The market-days held on Monday and Thursday were also noted by MOORCRAFT (vol. II, p. 450) and by HAMILTON (p. 255).

The Setting

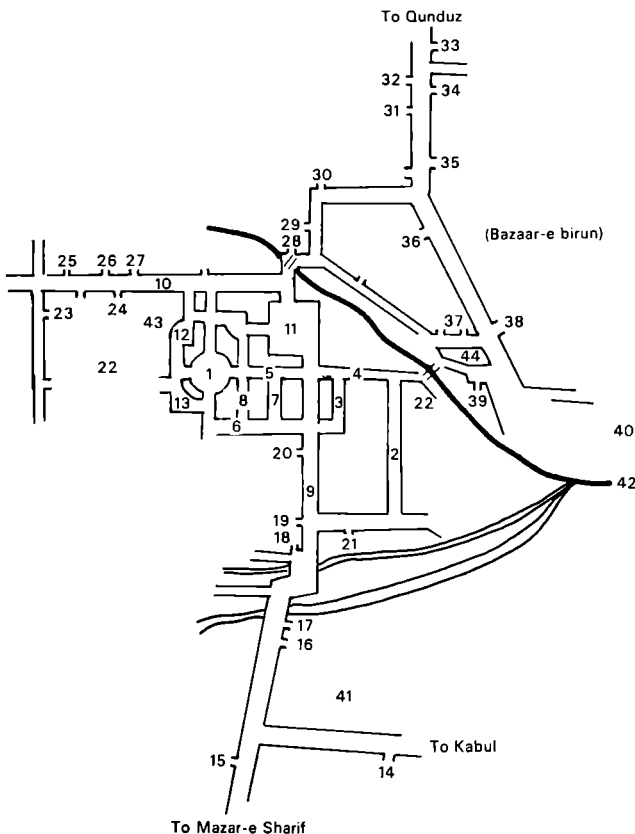
Introductory Remarks

The following section is a description of the trade and craft streets of the Central Town Bazaar of Tashqurghan. Each street is treated separately and as far as possible described giving various aspects in order to make a complete basic survey of the major part of the bazaar.

Each street, with a few exceptions, is treated in accordance to the following outline:

1. Scale map of street. The scale maps are simplified but show the basic appearance of the streets.
2. General description. This is a short written description of each street giving the most important features of the various trade and craft streets.
3. Location map. Sketch-maps showing the different types of shops and their location.
4. Description of each shop. A description covering most of the streets and shops where each shop is separately described from the following points:

- A: Type of shop
- B: Name of shopkeeper/craftsman
- C: Father's name
- D: Father's profession
- E: People working in the shop
- F: Additional information



Sketch-map of the bazaar of Tashqurghan showing the location of the trade/craft streets, *sarays*, etc.

Black/Wood Street, Copper Street, Rope Street, Silver Street, Leather Street, Cloth Street, *Banjara* Street and Tim are treated with regard to all four points above whereas Main Street, Main Street and Continuation (*Bazaar-e birun*), and *Baqal* Street are only described with regard to point one, two and three.

Bazaar Divisions in Tashqurghan

The bazaar of Tashqurghan can be divided into three different *trade and craft regions* each with special characteristics:

- A: *Central Town Bazaar*, i.e. *markaz-e shahr* and *bazaar-e birun*, which constitutes the main part of the whole bazaar structure in Tashqurghan.¹
- B: *Minor Outskirt Bazaar-areas*, i.e. shops and workshops situated outside the Central Town Bazaar, mostly scattered in "urban housing areas" and very seldom clustered together as a special craft district.
- C: *Private Manufacturing Centres*, i.e. workshops situated inside private homes with no direct selling to private customer. The products manufactured in this kind of bazaar are sold to (a) whole-

¹ This work is primarily concerned with the Central Town Bazaar.

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- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Central Bazaar Building or Tim | 23. <i>Saray-e charsu</i> |
| 2. Black/Wood Street or <i>raste aingeri</i> | 24. <i>Saray</i> |
| 3. Rope Street or <i>raste muytabi</i> | 25. <i>Saray</i> |
| 4. Copper Street or <i>raste misgeri</i> | 26. <i>Saray</i> |
| 5. <i>Banjara</i> Street or <i>raste banjara</i> | 27. <i>Saray</i> |
| 6. Leather Street or <i>raste charmfirusi</i> | 28. Raisin <i>Saray</i> or <i>saray-e kishmish</i> (Kerosene <i>Saray</i>) |
| 7. Silver Street or <i>raste zargeri</i> | 29. "Hide <i>Saray</i> " |
| 8. Cloth Street or <i>raste karbazfrusi</i> | 30. <i>Saray-e namak</i> |
| 9. Main Street or <i>raste kalan</i> | 31. <i>Saray</i> |
| 10. <i>Baqal</i> Street or <i>raste baqali</i> (<i>raste qanati</i> , <i>raste charsu</i>) | 32. <i>Saray-e bandar</i> |
| 11. Foodstuff Market or <i>mandai-ye baqali</i> | 33. <i>Saray</i> |
| 12. Flour <i>Saray</i> or <i>mandai-ye ard</i> | 34. <i>Saray</i> |
| 13. Pottery <i>Saray</i> or <i>saray-e kulala</i> | 35. <i>Saray</i> |
| 14. <i>Saray-e garaj bala</i> | 36. <i>Saray</i> |
| 14. <i>Saray-e garaj payan</i> | 37. <i>Saray-e negaran</i> |
| 16. <i>Saray</i> | 38. <i>Saray-e kolmaduzi</i> |
| 17. <i>Saray-e chardarya</i> | 39. <i>Saray-e gosfandbazaar</i> |
| 18. <i>Saray</i> | 40. Live-stock Market or <i>gosfandbazaar</i> |
| 19. Vegetable <i>Saray</i> or <i>mandai-ye sawsfrusi</i> | 41. Municipality buildings or <i>hokumati</i> |
| 20. Rice <i>Saray</i> or <i>mandai-ye berenjfrusi</i> | 42. River of Khulm, <i>Khulmab</i> |
| 21. Charcoal <i>Saray</i> or <i>saray-e zoghal</i> | 43. Prison or <i>bandikhana</i> |
| 22. Public baths or <i>hamam</i> | 44. <i>Bazaar-e birun</i> |

salers, (b) to local shopkeepers in the bazaar of Tashqurghan *en masse*, or, (c) in shops or stands operated by their relatives in the bazaar of Tashqurghan. The items produced and sold this way are mostly woven objects, embroidery, caps, candies, soaps, etc.

The Central Town Bazaar

The Central Town Bazaar of Tashqurghan consists of a number of covered and uncovered streets, a large number of *sarays* and some open areas which according to the type of activities carried out can be divided into two main categories:

1. Trade and craft streets
2. Trade and craft *sarays*/areas

These two categories can be classified as follows:

Trade and craft streets: Covered selling streets. — Covered manufacturing streets. — Covered selling and manufacturing streets. — Non-covered selling streets. — Non-covered manufacturing streets. — Non-covered selling and manufacturing streets.

Trade and craft *sarays*/areas: Open selling *sarays*/areas. — Open manufacturing *sarays*/areas. — Open selling and manufacturing *sarays*/areas. — The trade and craft *sarays*/areas are located outdoors in courtyards, *sarays*, wide streets, open-air markets, etc.

On the outskirts of the Central Town Bazaar are large entrance gates, *darwaza*, no longer used today. The Central Town Bazar had three gates *darwaza-ye Mazar*, *darwaza-ye Kabul* and *darwaza-ye Yang Areq*. In the local terminology the bazaar is composed of the following six elements:

Chardarya: A place crossed by four irrigation channels.

Charsu: Usually a place where two selling streets intersect each other.

Mandai: An open place where food-stuffs are sold.

Rasta: A street covered or non-covered with shops or workshops on each side.

Saray: An entrepôt for animals and merchandise; lodgings for travellers; selling or manufacturing place.

Tim: A special type of building with a cupola roof and four entrances; selling or manufacturing place.

The whole Central Town Bazaar consists roughly of the following districts:

(Some of the names are not official but given by the author in order to simplify the description of the bazaar. As will be seen later the names of the different districts are quite appropriate.)

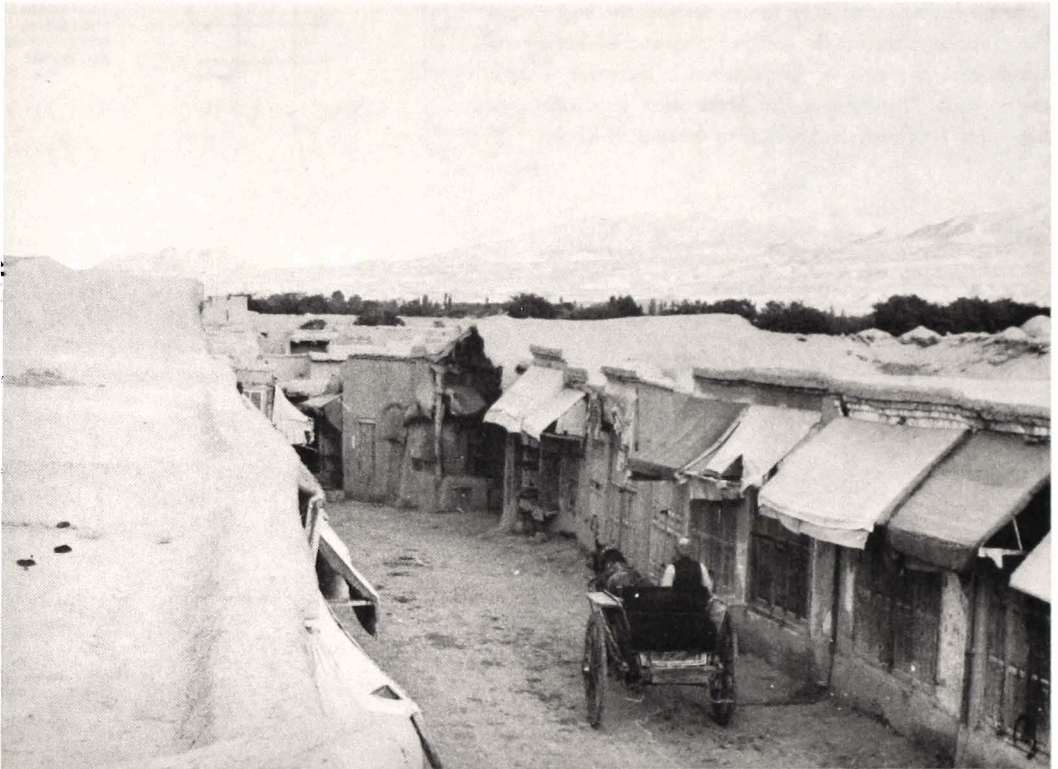
Trade and craft streets: *Main Street* or *raste kalan*. — *Main Street and Continuation* or *Bazaar-e birum* (which consists of *raste bedafrusi*, *raste kunjarafusi*, *raste kohnaduzi*, *raste boryafrusi* and *raste gosfandbazaar*). — Blacksmith and Woodworker Street, which further on will be referred to as *Black/Wood Street* or *raste aingeri*. — Coppersmith Street which further on will be referred to as *Copper Street* or *raste misgeri*. — Ropemaker Street which further on will be referred to as *Rope*

Street, or *raste myytabi*. — Foodstuff-seller Street which further on will be referred to as *Baqal Street* or *raste baqali*. (This street is sometimes called *raste qanati* and *raste charsu* by the local population.) — Silversmith Street which further on will be referred to as *Silver Street* or *raste zargeri*. Leatherworker Street which further on will be referred to as *Leather Street* or *raste charmfrusi*. — Cloth-seller Street which further on will be referred to as *Cloth Street* or *raste karbazfrusi*. — Petty Trader Street which further on will be referred to as *Banjara Street* or *raste banjara*. — Central Bazaar Building which further on will be referred to as *Tim*.

Trade and craft *sarays*/areas: (Only the major trade and craft *sarays*/areas are mentioned.) — Rice *Saray* or *mandai-ye berenjfrusi*. — Flour *Saray* or *mandai-ye ard*. — Vegetable *Saray* or *mandai-ye savsfrusi*. — “Hide *Saray*”. — Kerosene *Saray* or *saray-e kishmish*. — Pottery *Saray* or *saray-e kulala*. — Food-stuff Market or *mandai-ye baqali*. — Live-stock Market or *qosfandbazaar*, etc.

As seen on the sketch-map of the bazaar several of the twenty-four *sarays* have no proper names; they are therefore referred to simply as *sarays*.

Main Street



Tashqurghan: A *qadi* in Main Street.

Main Street: General description

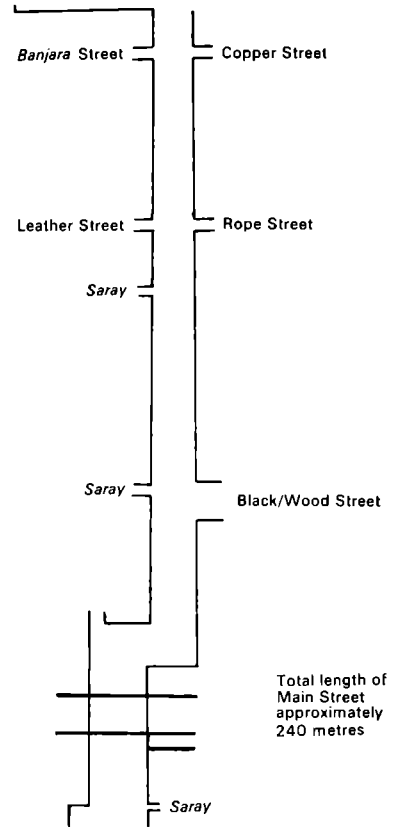
Main Street is approximately 240 metres long and is an open selling street with 146 shops situated on both sides of the street. It is a typical *rasta* with shops facing each other.

The following shops are to be found on Main Street: 29 *bazaz*, 27 *baqal*, 24 *banjara*, 12 butchers, 9 fur and hide traders, 4 almond traders, 5 tailors, 4 rice-sellers, 4 barbers, 3 cobblers, 2 shoe-sellers, 2 shoemakers, 3 candy-sellers, 1 antique dealer, 2 pharmacies, 1 tea-house, 1 trader, 2 restaurants, 1 pickle-seller, 1 snuff-seller, 2 radio shops, 2 bicycle repairers, 1 *chapan*-seller, 2 tea-sellers, 1 wood-seller and 1 watchmaker. Close to Main Street there are also 2 water-mills and 2 bakeries.

The antique shop is only about one year old; the two pharmacies, which also are quite new, sell only modern remedies and not traditional folk-medicine.

On Main Street there are entrances to two *sarays*, Vegetable *Saray* and Rice *Saray* and from each side of Main Street minor streets angle into the bazaar itself. There are also two mills with connected bakeries close to the street, at the so-called *chardarya*, where it is crossed by the streams. At the *chardarya* fishmongers sell fried fish during the cold season.

At the beginning of Main Street, towards the highway, is the gathering-place for the *gadis*, or two-wheeled horse-carts which serve as means of transportation in the town as there are no taxis. The other end of Main Street terminates in a large open food-stuff market close to the river of Khulm.



Main Street: Type of and location of shops

BANJARA STREET

Banjara
Bazaz
Bazaz
 Antiques
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
 Rice-seller
Bazaz
 Fur-trader
Bazaz
Bazaz
 Shoe-seller
 Tailor

LEATHER STREET

Banjara
 Butcher
 Chapan-seller
 Fur-trader
 Pharmacy
SARAY
 Candy-seller
 Tailor
Baqal
Baqal
 Fur-trader
 Fur-trader
 Fur-trader
 Fur-trader
 Fur-trader
Baqal
 Shoemaker
 Shoemaker
Baqal
 Radio-repairer
 Barber
Banjara
 Tea-seller
 Tea-seller
 Almond trader
Banjara
Banjara
Banjara
Baqal
 Snuff-seller

SARAY

Butcher
Baqal
Baqal
 Butcher
Banjara
 Watchmaker
Banjara
Baqal
Baqal
 Butcher
Baqal
 Cobbler
Baqal
 Butcher

Pickle-seller

STREAM

Banjara
Banjara
Banjara

STREAM

Restaurant

STREAM

Pharmacy

SARAY

COPPER STREET

Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
 Hide-trader
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz
Banjara
Bazaz
 Tailor
Bazaz
Bazaz
Bazaz

ROPE STREET

Bazaz
Bazaz
 Trader
Bazaz
Baqal
Baqal
 Almond trader
 Almond trader
 Rice-seller
 Candy and tea-seller
 Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
Baqal
 Tailor
 Barber
 Tailor
 Almond trader
Baqal
Baqal
 Radio-seller
Baqal
 Bicycle-repairer
Baqal
Baqal
Banjara
Baqal
 Butcher
 Butcher

**STREET LEADING TO BLACK/
 WOOD STREET**

Baqal
 Butcher
Baqal
 Butcher
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Butcher
 Shoe-seller and cobbler
 Barber
Baqal
 Butcher
Baqal
Baqal
 Barber
 Tea-house

Banjara
 Candy-seller
Banjara
Banjara
 Watermill Restaurant

STREAM

STREAM

Banjara
 Bicycle-repairer
Banjara
 Fur-trader
Banjara
Banjara

Butcher
Baqal
Baqal
Banjara
Banjara

Watermill

Banjara
Wood-seller
Banjara

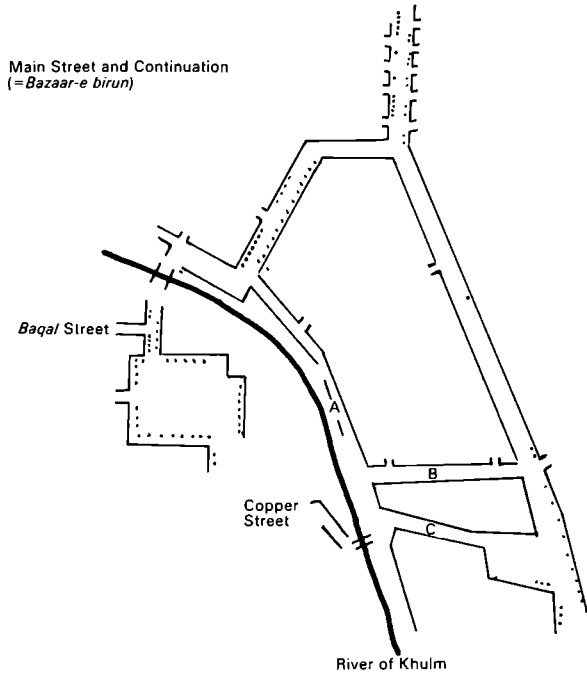
Main Street and Continuation

Main Street and Continuation: General description

Main Street ends with a large open square which serves as a market for mainly food-stuffs and also to some extent, imported kerosene. The food-stuff market is connected by streets on one side to *Banjara Street*, *Flour Saray* and *Baqal Street*, and on the other side to *Copper Street*.

From the food-stuff market there is a street with a few shops leading down to the river, which is crossed by a bridge.

On the other side of the river there are three partly covered combined manufacturing and selling streets, marked on the sketch-map as section A, B and C. These streets are in rather poor condition and are dominated by cobblers and sellers of various food-stuffs. Continuing straight on from the bridge there is a long street occupied by sellers of vegetable oil and similar food-stuffs. This street, which is open, is connected to three *sarays*. This part of the bazaar is called *Bazaar-e birun*.



Each dot represents a shop.
The shops in the streets marked A, B and C are treated separately.

Main Street and Continuation: Type of and location of shops

SECTION A

RIVER OF KHULM

Pigeon-seller
 Restaurant
 Cloth-dyer
 Fishmonger
 Fishmonger
 Wood-seller
 Fishmonger
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller

Kabab
Kahab
 Fishmonger
 Barber
 STREET

SARAY PALWANGHORA

Roghhan-seller
 Barber
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller
 Tea-house
 Blacksmith

Baqal
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller
Baqal who also sells rope and wood
 Oil-seller
 Barber
 Rope-seller
 Oil-seller
 Oil-seller
 Butcher
 Almond trader Tea-house

Total length of street approximately 30 metres

SECTION B

Blacksmith
 Cobbler
 Cobbler who also sells wood
 Woodworker
 Cloth-dyer
 Carpenter
 Cloth-dyer

Blacksmith
 Blacksmith
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Cobbler
 Restaurant Carpenter

Total length of street approximately 35 metres

RIVER OF KHULM

SECTION C

Empty shop
 Donkeysaddlemaker
 Wood-seller
 Wickerworker
 Wood-seller
 Oil-seller
 Tea-house
 Bird-seller

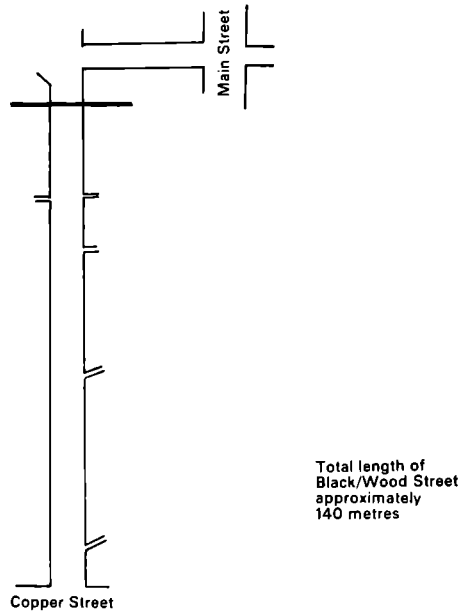
Woodworker
 Woodworker
 Cobbler
 Wickerworker
 Wickerworker/ doormaker
 Cagemaker
 Wickerworker
 Cagemaker
 Wickerworker
 Wickerworker
 Wickerworker
 Wickerworker
 Bicycle-repairer
 Oil-seller

Total length of street approximately 30 metres

Oil-seller = seller of vegetable oil

Cagemaker = Craftsman who makes cages for birds

Black/Wood Street



Black/Wood Street: General description

Black/Wood Street is approximately 140 metres long and is a narrow, open street with mainly workshops occupied by blacksmiths and wood-workers. On Black/Wood Street proper there are 74 shops of which 73 are in use.

The following shops are situated on Black/Wood Street: 48 blacksmiths, 20 woodworkers and 5 ironmongers. A tomb, *ziarat*, is also located on the street.

Black/Wood Street proper starts from Copper Street and runs parallel to Main Street to which the upper part of Black/Wood Street turns. On the upper part of Black/Wood Street there are 15 shops; 3 blacksmiths, 2 woodworkers, 4 restaurants, 1 barber, 1 *baqal*, 1 ironmonger, 1 pop-corn seller, 1 cobbler and one shop which has been turned into soldiers' lodgings. On the upper part of Black/Wood Street there is also a *saray* with a bakery.

The tomb of Sayed Abdullah who was killed fighting against pro-Amanullah groups was erected in 1308 s.H.

The tomb is used for prayer though not for worship like an ordinary *ziarat*. There are no *dervish* or *malangs* around the tomb and it is only visited by the people working on Black/Wood Street.

Black/Wood Street: Type of and location of shops

(COPPER STREET)

Ironmonger BW 1
Blacksmith BW 2
Blacksmith BW 3
Blacksmith BW 4
Blacksmith BW 5
Blacksmith BW 6
Blacksmith BW 7
Blacksmith BW 8
Blacksmith BW 9
Blacksmith BW 10
Blacksmith BW 11
Blacksmith BW 12
Ironmonger BW 13
Blacksmith BW 14
Blacksmith BW 15
Blacksmith BW 16
Blacksmith BW 17
Blacksmith BW 18
Blacksmith BW 18
Blacksmith BW 19
Blacksmith BW 20
Blacksmith BW 21
Blacksmith BW 22
Blacksmith BW 23
Blacksmith BW 24
Blacksmith BW 25
Blacksmith BW 26
Blacksmith BW 27
Blacksmith BW 28
Blacksmith BW 29
Blacksmith BW 30
Tomb*
Blacksmith BW 31

SMALL STREET

Woodworker BW 32
Woodworker BW 33
Ironmonger BW 34
Blacksmith BW 35
Blacksmith BW 36
Blacksmith BW 37
Blacksmith BW 38
Woodworker BW 39

STREAM

Blacksmith BW 40

Blacksmith BW 41
Ironmonger BW 42

SMALL STREET

Ironmonger BW 43
Blacksmith BW 44
Blacksmith BW 45
Blacksmith BW 46
Blacksmith BW 47
Blacksmith BW 48
Blacksmith BW 49
Blacksmith BW 50
Woodworker BW 51
Blacksmith BW 52
Woodworker BW 53
Woodworker BW 54

SMALL STREET

Empty shop
Blacksmith BW 55
Woodworker BW 56
Woodworker BW 57
Woodworker BW 58
Blacksmith BW 59
Blacksmith BW 60
Woodworker BW 61
Woodworker BW 62
Woodworker BW 63

SMALL STREET

Woodworker BW 64
Woodworker BW 65
Blacksmith BW 66
Woodworker BW 67
Woodworker BW 68
Woodworker BW 69

SMALL STREET

Woodworker BW 70
Woodworker BW 71
Woodworker BW 72

STREAM

Blacksmith BW 73

Upper part of Black/Wood Street: Type and location of shops

SMALL STREET

BLACK/WOOD STREET

Restaurant
Blacksmith
Blacksmith
Woodworker BW 74
Blacksmith
Baqal
Restaurant
Barber

MAIN STREET

Woodworker BW 75
Pop-corn seller
Soldiers' lodgings
Ironmonger
Cobbler
SARAY Bakery
Restaurant
Restaurant

* Tomb: *Ziarat* of Sayed Abdullah, erected in 1308 S.H.

Black/Wood Street: Description of each shop.

BW 1. A: (Type of shop): Ironmonger, *khordafrus*. — B (Name of shopkeeper): Hadji Jura Baj. — C (Father's name): Umbar. — D (Father's profession): Farmer. — E (People working in the shop): Working alone. — F (Additional information): The ironmonger buys his merchandise from the local blacksmiths of Tashqurghan and sells it at a small profit. He also sells imported ironware.

BW 2. A: Blacksmith, *aingar*. — B: Abdul Aziz. — C: Gholam Mohammad. — D: Farmer. — E: *Ustad* ("master") Abdul Aziz has three *chagirds* ("apprentices") working in his shop, Mohammad Sharif, Gholam Dastagir and Ismetullah. One of the *chagirds* is related to *Ustad* Abdul Aziz. — F: *Ustad* Abdul Aziz has been *kalanthar* (leader of a guild) of the blacksmiths.

BW 3. A: Blacksmith. — B: Gholam Hasrat. — C: Sayed Jan. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Working together with his two brothers, Gholam Dastagir and Gholam Haider and one non-related *chagird*, Mohammad Shafi. — F: Gholam Hasrat's grandfather, Gholam Nabi, was also a blacksmith.

BW 4. A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdur Rahim. — C: Abdul Hamid. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Working together with his two brothers Abdul Kahar and Abdul Jabbar.

BW 5. A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Akbar. — C: Gholam. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Working with his two sons Anvar and Omar as *chagirds* and his nephew Samad also as a *chagird*.

BW 6. A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Sabur. — C: Rajab. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Has two non-related *chagirds*, Amanullah and Amanullah.

BW 7. A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Aziz. — C: Abdul Khaleq. — D: Miller. — E: Has three *chagirds*, two of them are his sons, Abdul Razeq and Abdul Sahdeq.

BW 8. A: Blacksmith. — B: Taj Mohammad. — C: Khair Mohammad. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Three *chagirds*; his two sons Hamidullah and Abdur Rahim and one non-related *chagird* Mohammad Shafi.

BW 9. A: Blacksmith. — B: Sharif Shah. — C: Qambar. — D: Blacksmith (spademaker). — E: Working together with his brother Ahmad Shah, his nephew Nurullah and two non-related hammermen, Mohammadullah and Abdul Satar. — F: This shop's chief product is spades.

BW 10. A: Blacksmith. — B: Hazrat Shah. — C: Shah Niaz. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Three sons are working as *chagirds* in the shop. Rabani, Gholam Sahi and Gholam Dastagir; two non-related hammermen are also working here, Salah and Taj Mohammad.

BW 11. A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Satar. — C: Barat. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Two *chagirds*; his sons Hayatullah and his wife's brother Dost Mohammad. — F: This shop makes mainly needles.

BW 12. A: Blacksmith. — B: Yaqub. — C: Qorban. — D: Baker. — E: One son, Naim, working as a *chagird*, when he is not at school.

BW 13. A: Ironmonger. — B: Hadji Abdul Satar. — C: Barat. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Working together with his brother Abdul Ghaffor. — F: Same type of shop as *BW 1*. Both Hadji Abdul Satar and his brother used to be blacksmiths but nowadays they only sell iron-ware together with some paint in order to make more money.

BW 14. A: Blacksmith. — B: Amir Jan. — C: Gholam. — D: Farmer. — E: Working with his brother Abdul Aziz; four *chagirds*, three of them are his sons Abdul Ghaffor, Abdul Rauf and Sher Mohammad, and one non-related, Hashim.

- BW 15.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Ahmad Jan. — C: Hadji Aka Jan. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Working with his two brothers Gholam Sahi and Gholam Daod; three sons as *chagirds*, Abdul Jabbar, Abdullah and Ramatullah; one non-related *chagird*, Hashim.
- BW 16.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Rasul. — C: Sayed Khodja. — D: Candy-seller. — E: One son working as a *chagird*, Qodratullah.
- BW 17.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdur Rauf. — C: Baqi. — D: Shepherd. — E: Three sons working as *chagirds*, Abdul Rahim, Abdul Aziz and “Saus”.
- BW 18.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Bori. — C: Mohammad Murad. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Working with four sons as *chagirds*, Mohammad Zahir, Mohammad Nabi, Mohammad Sadeq and ? Has two non-related hammermen, Gholam Haidar and Mohammad Nadir. — F: Bori occupies two workshops.
- BW 19.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Azim. — C: Mohammad Rahim. — D: Tea-house keeper. — E: One son, Nabi, and his two brothers Abdul Rahim and Mohammad Anif work in the shop.
- BW 20.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Safar. — C: Faiz Mohammad. D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Three *chagirds*; his son Ghani, his grandson Yonos, and Gulbuddin, who is married to his daughter.
- BW 21.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Din Mohammad. — C: Barat. — D: *Mullah* (“priest”). — E: Four *chagirds*; his son Faqir Mohammad, his two nephews Taj Mohammad and ? and one non-related, Moharam Shah.
- BW 22.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Sayed. — C: Mohammad Naser. — D: Not a blacksmith. — E: Two *chagirds*; his son Amanullah and one non-relative, Gholam Kader.
- BW 23.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Faqir Shah. — C: Qorban Shah. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two *chagirds*; his son Hazrat Shah and his grandson Shahwali.
- BW 24.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Sadeq. — C: Mohammad Amir. — D: Telephone worker. — E: Works with his brother Abdur Razeq and one non-related *chagird*, Badal Shah. — F: Mohammad Sadeq was earlier a *chagird* in the shop of Abdul Aziz, BW 2.
- BW 25.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Ayub. — C: Rajab Ali. — D: Candy-seller. — E: His four sons are *chagirds*; Mohammad Sharif, Abdul Latif, Mohammad Akhtar and Samad. — F: Brother to BW 26.
- BW 26.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Moyeb. — C: Rajab Ali. — D: Candy-seller. — F: Brother to BW 25. — E: Three *chagirds*; two sons, Mohammad Qayum and Mohammad Yonos and one non-related, Mohammad Nadir.
- BW 27.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Gholam Kader. — C: Rahmad. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Three sons as *chagirds*; Naser, Sabur and Sadeq.
- BW 28.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Hadji Abdul Sharif. — C: Karim. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two brothers working, Naim Shah and Hakim Shah; two non-related hammermen Aman and Eshan.
- BW 29.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Izatullah. — C: Ramatullah. — D: Gardener. — E: Three non-related *chagirds*; Shah Mohammad, Abdur Rauf and Mohammad Hashim.
- BW 30.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdur Rauf. — C: Abdur Rasul. — D: Farmer. — E: Two non-related *chagirds*: Yassin and Yossuf.

- BW 31.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Sharif Khan. — C: Sultan. — D: Blacksmith. — D: One son as a *chagird*, Akbar.
- BW 32.* A: Woodworker. — B: Abdul Hai. — C: Mullah Razul. — D: *Tauwizgar* (a person who makes a special kind of amulet). — E: His brother Salam works occasionally in the shop.
- BW 33.* A: Woodworker. — B: Sayed Qul. — C: Id Baqi. — D: Woodworker. — E: One non-related *chagird*, Karim.
- BW 34.* A: Ironmonger. — B: Hadji Ismatullah. — C: Baba Khan. — D: Gardener. — Working alone. — F: Was earlier a blacksmith but nowadays only sells iron-ware. Same type of shop as BW 1.
- BW 35.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mozafar. — C: Khanan. — D: Farmer. — E: Two *chagirds*; his son Qodratullah and his wife's brother Shukur.
- BW 36.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Satar. — C: Rahimullah. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Five sons as *chagirds*; Abdul Ghias, Abdul Sardar, Abdul Qudus, Abdul Ghaffor and Abdul Razeq. — F: This shop makes chiefly pocket-knives.
- BW 37.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Zarif. — C: Khanan. — D: Farmer. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*; Hayatullah and Ismatullah. — F: Brother to BW 35.
- BW 38.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Moqeb. — C: Qambar. — D: Farmer. — E: One son as *chagird*, Sayed Shah. — F: This shop makes chiefly horse-shoes.
- BW 39.* A: Woodworker. — B: Abdul Aziz. — C: ? — D: Farmer. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*.
- BW 40.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Wahid. — C: Qorban. — D: Carpenter. — E: Has one partner, Hakim Shah, son of Naim the baker; one hammerman Gorgali who is the brother of his wife; three non-related hammermen Rashid, Salam and Qambar; two *chagirds*, Zekrullah and Lali, who are the sons of his wife's brother.
- BW 41.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Three brothers share the shop, Gholam Hazrat, Gholam Qader and Gholam Dastagir. — C: Faqir Shah. — D: Blacksmith. — E: One non-related *chagird*, Hayatullah. — F: The whole family have been blacksmiths for several generations.
- BW 42.* A: Ironmonger. — B: Abdul Ghaffor. — C: Ayub Shah. — D: Blacksmith (Knifesmith). — E: Working alone. — F: Same type as BW 1.
- BW 43.* A: Ironmonger. — B: Mohammad Jan. — C: Aka Jan. — D: Blacksmith (Knifesmith). — E: Working alone. — F: Same type as BW 1.
- BW 44.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Qayum. — C: Sator. — D: Farmer. — E: Two non-related *chagirds*. — F: This shop makes mostly knives. Qayum has recently opened his workshop in Tashqurghan; he lived earlier in Ghaznigak.
- BW 45.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Qayum. — C: Faiz Mohammad. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Four sons as *chagirds*; Abdullah, Amanullah, Faiz Mohammad and Gul Mohammad. — F: Faiz Mohammad is the brother of BW 8. The shop mainly makes locks.
- BW 46.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Jan. — C: Gholam Jan. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two non-related *chagirds*; Ismatullah and Naim. — F: This shop chiefly makes horse-shoes.
- BW 47.* A: Blacksmith. — B: Hashim. — C: Qorban. — D: Baker. — E: Works with his three brothers, Hashim, Hakim and Gulagah; two non-related *chagirds*, Zahir (Yaqub's wife's brother, BW 12) and Mohammad Khan. — F: This shop co-operates with the shop of Yaqub, BW 12.

BW 48. A: Blacksmith. — B: Mohammad Shah. — C: Qambar. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two *chagirds*; his son Hakim and one non-relative, Razeq. — F: Brother to *BW 9*.

BW 49. A: Blacksmith. — B: Achildi. — C: Izatullah. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two non-related *chagirds*, Akbar and Dastagir. — F: This shop mostly makes chains.

BW 50. A: Blacksmith. — B: Qayum Shah. — C: Ayub Shah. — D: Blacksmith. — E: Two *chagirds*, his son Gulahmad and one non-relative, Yasin. — F: Brother to *BW 42*.

BW 51. A: Woodworker. — B: Yelan. — C: Muddin. — D: Woodworker. — E: Works with his brother Haidar and two sons as *chagirds*, Qodratullah and Rabani.

BW 52. A: Blacksmith. — B: Ismael. — C: Khodainoor. — D: Weaver. — E: Works with his brother Israel and two non-related *chagirds*, Hosain and Samad. — F: This shop chiefly makes locks.

BW 53. A: Woodworker. — B: Shukur. — C: ? — D: Farmer. — E: One non-related *chagird*.

BW 54. A: Woodworker. — B: Amanullah. — C: Mullah Bori. — D: Tea-seller and clerk. — E: Works alone.

BW 55. A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Ghaffor. — C: Faqir Shah. — D: Miller. — E: One non-related *chagird*, Zahir. — F: Has recently arrived in Tashqurghan and opened his workshop.

BW 56. A: Woodworker. — B: Kabir. — C: Ghaffor. — D: Farmer. — E: Two *chagirds*; his son Majit and one non-relative, Zahir.

BW 57. A: Woodworker. — B: Gholam Mohammad. — C: Sofi Abur Rahim. — D: *Baqal* (seller of food-stuffs). — E: Three non-related *chagirds*; Ziabaj, Noor Mohammad and Moqim Shah. — F: Gholam Mohammad was earlier a *chagird* in *BW 62*.

BW 58. A: Woodworker. — B: Merzaqul. — C: Uliaqul. — D: Innkeeper. — E: One non-related *chagird*.

BW 59. A: Blacksmith. — B: Rajab Shah. — C: Faiz Mohammad. — D: Farmer. — E: One non-related *chagird*, Gholam.

BW 60. A: Blacksmith. — B: Hakim Shah. — C: Rajab Shah. — D: ? — E: One non-related *chagird*, Nabi and two non-related hammermen Jalal and Salah.

BW 61. A: Woodworker. — B: Sadeq. — C: ? — D: Woodworker. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*, Gholam Hazrat and Sadeq.

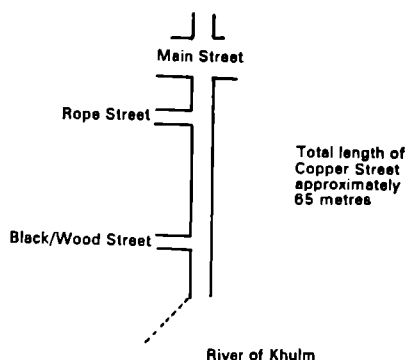
BW 62. A: Woodworker. — B: Abdul Karim. — C: Mustafa Qul. — D: Live-stock and landowner: trader to Bokhara. — E: One non-related *chagird*, Mohammad Hosain, son of Dada Baj, candy-seller. — F: Abdul Karim is the present *kalanthar* of the woodworkers, a position he has held for 36 years. He has three small sons who are going to school. Besides woodworking A.K. also makes big grinding-stones, furniture, masonry, shoes and divides water for irrigation, *mirab*.

BW 63. A: Woodworker. — B: Nematullah. — C: Shah Nematullah. — D: Woodworker. — E: Three sons as *chagirds*, Khan Mohammad, Nurullah and Amir Shah. — F: Nematullah's family have been woodworkers for seven generations; he is considered to be the most skilled woodworker in all Tashqurghan.

BW 64. A: Woodworker. — B: Mullah Kader. — C: Suleiman. — D: Woodworker. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*, Abdul Rauf and Mohammad Amin.

- BW 65.** A: Woodworker. — B: Faizullah. — C: Khodja. — D: Woodworker. — E: Works alone.
- BW 66.** A: Blacksmith. — B: Abdul Majid. — C: Idi Baj. — D: Farmer. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*, Daoud and Akbar.
- BW 67.** A: Woodworker. — B: Akbar. — C: Hakdat. — D: Donkey-rider. — E: Two *chagirds*; one nephew Jalal and one non-relative, Yasin.
- BW 68.** A: Woodworker. — B: Abdul Amid. — C: ? — D: Farmer. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*, Abdul Aziz and ?, who is doing his military service and can't work in the shop for the moment. — F: This shop also makes mouse-traps.
- BW 69.** A: Woodworker. — B: Ambar. — C: Mohammad Amin. — D: Snuff-seller. — E: One son as a *chagird*, Azim.
- BW 70.** A: Woodworker. — B: Ata Jan. — C: Aziz Qul. — D: Woodworker. — E: Two sons working as *chagirds*.
- BW 71.** A: Woodworker. — B: Ambar. — C: Suleiman. — D: Woodworker. — E: Two sons as *chagirds*, Hafiz and Hakim. — F: Brother to BW 64.
- BW 72.** A: Woodworker. — B: Yossuf. — C: ? — D: Farmer. — E: Works with his brother Yonus and one non-related *chagird*. — F: This shop has just opened (1972).
- BW 73.** A: Blacksmith. — B: Faiz Mohammad. — C: Ashur. — D: Farmer. — E: Three non-related *chagirds*, Timur, Sher and Sardar Mohammad. — F: This shop mostly makes knives.
- BW 74.** A: Woodworker. — B: Mohammad Askar and his brother Mohammad Anvar. — C: Qari Gholam Ali Khorram (vide Leather Street, L 4). — D: Book-seller, etc. — F: Mohammad Askar who is the younger of the two brothers was earlier a *chagird* in his brother Mohammad Anvar's shop; Mohammad Anvar was once a *chagird* in the shop of *kalanthar* Abdul Karim. For the moment (1972) Mohammad Anvar is doing his military service and the shop is taken care of by Mohammad Askar; they have no *chagirds*.
- BW 75.** A: Woodworker. — B: Khaleq. — C: Gadai Shah. — D: Oil-extractor. — E: Khaleq has two brothers working as *chagirds*.

Copper Street



Copper Street: General description

Copper Street is approximately 65 metres long and is a covered combined manufacturing and selling street with 48 shops of which 44 are in use.

The following shops are situated on Copper Street: 23 coppersmiths, 6 cloth-sellers, 5 *baqal*, 3 tea-houses, 2 butchers, 1 restaurant, 1 *banjara*, 1 blacksmith, 1 *kabab*-shop and 1 barber. Besides there are also several candy-sellers without permanent shops who operate on the street.

Some of the coppersmiths are nowadays combined coppersmiths and *halabi saz* ("jobbing-smiths") but they still refer to themselves as coppersmiths.

Copper Street starts perpendicular to Main Street and ends close to the river of Khulum. The street is connected to Rope Street and Black/Wood Street.

Copper Street: Type of and location of shops

MAIN STREET

Tea-house C 1
 Cloth-seller C 2
 Cloth-seller C 3
 Cloth-seller C 4

ROPE STREET

Cloth-seller C 5
 Coppersmith C 6
 Coppersmith C 7
 Empty shop
 Coppersmith C 8
 Coppersmith C 9
 Coppersmith C 10
 Coppersmith C 11
 Coppersmith C 12
Kabab C 13
 Blacksmith C 14

BLACK/WOOD STREET

Baqal C 15
Baqal C 16
 Coppersmith C 17
 Coppersmith C 18
 Tea-house C 19
 Restaurant C 20
 Tea-house C 21

TO FOOD-STUFF MARKET →

Butcher C 22
Banjara C 23
 Cloth-seller C 24
 Coppersmith C 25
 Coppersmith C 26
 Coppersmith C 27
 Coppersmith C 27
 Cloth-seller C 28
 Coppersmith C 29
 Coppersmith C 30
 Coppersmith C 30
 Coppersmith C 31
 Coppersmith C 32
 Coppersmith C 33
 Butcher C 34
 Empty shop
 Coppersmith C 35
 Coppersmith C 36
 Coppersmith C 37
 Coppersmith C 38
 Empty shop
 Barber C 39
 Empty shop
Baqal C 40
Baqal C 41
Baqal C 42

BRIDGE

RIVER OF KHULM

TO BAZAAR-E BIRUN



Copper Street: Description of each shop

C 1. A: Tea-house.

C 2. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Qari Sediq.

C 3. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Abdur Razeq.

C 4. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Mullah Abdullah.

C 5. A: Cloth-seller.

C 6. A: Coppersmith (in March 1972); *Bazaz* (“seller of imported cloth”) after July 1972. — B: Ata Mohammad. — C: Shir Mohammad. — D: Farmer. — F: Used to be *halabi saz* but has recently turned his shop into a *bazazi* (July 1972) for financial reasons.

C 7. A: Coppersmith. — B: Hadji Abdur Rahman. — C: Baba Sufi. — D: Coppersmith. — F: Vide part two “The Coppersmith”!

C 8. A: Coppersmith. — B: Kader. — C: Rajab. — D: Coppersmith.

C 9. A: Coppersmith. — B: Ismatullah. — C: Faizullah. — D: Coppersmith.

C 10. A: Coppersmith. — B: Izatullah. — C: Hadji Muallim. — D: Coppersmith.

C 11. A: Coppersmith (nowadays a proper *halabi saz*). — B: Sharafullah. — C: Izatullah. — D: Coppersmith.

C 12. A: Coppersmith. — B: Gholam Sarwar. — F: Vide part two, “The Coppersmith”!

C 13. A: *Kabah*-shop, *kebab*.

C 14. A: Blacksmith. — B: Gholam Hazrat.

C 15. A: *Baqal*.

C 16. A: *Baqal*.

C 17. A: Coppersmith. — B: Ata Jan. — C: Abdur Rahim. — D: Farmer.

C 18. A: Coppersmith. — B: Jabbar. — C: Deh Mard Kata (= “ten strong men”). — D: Deh Mard Kata is said to be a very skilled farmer.

C 19. A: Tea-house.

C 20. A: Restaurant.

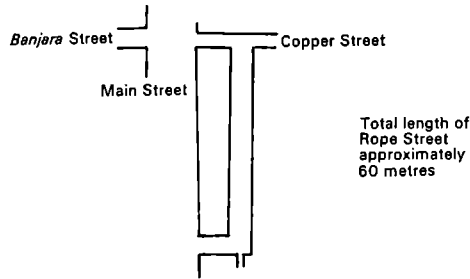
C 21. A: Tea-house.

C 22. A: Butcher. — B: Nezam.

C 23. A: *Banjara*. — B: Akbar Beg.

- C 24. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Habibullah.
- C 25. A: Coppersmith. — B: Mohammad Ibrahim. — C: Sharif. — D: Coppersmith.
- C 26. A: Coppersmith. — B: Abdul Satar. — C: Qorban. — D: Farmer.
- C 27. A: Coppersmith. — B: Abdul Raof. — C: Qayum. — D: Coppersmith. — F: Abdul Raof occupies two workshops.
- C 28. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Aka Jan.
- C 29. A: Coppersmith. — B: Mohammadullah. — C: Nematullah. — D: Coppersmith.
- C 30. A: Coppersmith. — B: Mohammad Ali. — C: Gurgali. — D: Farmer. — F: Mohammad Ali occupies two workshops; one of them is mostly used for tinning. He is the brother of coppersmith Murad Ali, R 15.
- C 31. A: Coppersmith. — B: Habibullah. — C: Noor Mohammad — D: Rug-seller.
- C 32. A: Coppersmith. — B: Abdur Razul. — C: Hadji Shir Mohammad. — D: Coppersmith.
- C 33. A: Coppersmith. — B: Ismatullah. — C: Balta. — D: Coppersmith. E: — Two *chagirds*; one is his son and one is adopted. — F. Ismatullah is the present *kalanthar* of the coppersmiths.
- C 34. A: Butcher. — B: Gholam Akbar.
- C 35. A: Coppersmith. — B: Ayub Shah. — C: Bahram. — D: Coppersmith.
- C 36. A: Coppersmith. — B: Akram. — C: Ahmad Shah. — C: *Chitgar* (a man who prints on cotton cloth).
- C 37. A: Coppersmith. — B: Mohammad Ali. — C: Mohammad Sharif. — D: Farmer. — F: Brother to C 38.
- C 38. A: Coppersmith. — B: Barat. — F: Vide supra!
- C 39. A: Barber. — B: Qayum. — C: ? — D: Barber. — E: One son as *chagird*.
- C 40. A: *Baqal*. — B: Alim Shah.
- C 41. A: *Baqal*. — B: Gulagha.
- C 42. A: *Baqal*. — B: Mohammadi.

Rope Street



Rope Street: General description

Rope Street is approximately 60 metres long and is a covered combined manufacturing and selling street with 43 shops of which 29 are in use.

The following shops are situated on Rope Street: 11 ropemakers, 8 rug-sellers, 5 coppersmiths, 1 barber, 1 cobbler, 1 tea-house, 1 *kabab*-shop, 1 *baqal*; sometimes there is also a candy-seller operating on the street without a permanent shop.

Rope Street starts perpendicular to Main Street and bends after approximately 10 metres and runs parallel to Main Street until the street ends in Copper Street.

Rope Street: Type of and location of shops

		COPPER STREET	
		Rug-seller R 1	Rug-seller R 13
		Rug-seller R 2	Coppersmith R 14
		Coppersmith R 3	Coppersmith R 15
		Coppersmith R 4	Ropemaker R 16
		Rug-seller R 5	Coppersmith R 17
		Empty shop	Ropemaker R 18
		Empty shop	Ropemaker R 19
		Empty shop	<i>Baqal</i> R 20
		Ropemaker R 6	Empty shop
		Rug-seller R 7	Ropemaker R 21
		Empty shop	Ropemaker R 22
		Empty shop	Ropemaker R 23
		Ropemaker R 8	Rug-seller R 24
		Empty shop	Rug-seller R 25
		Empty shop	Empty shop
		Empty shop	Empty shop
		Ropemaker R 9	Rug-seller R 26
		Empty shop	Empty shop
		<i>Kabab</i> R 10	Ropemaker R 27
			Ropemaker R 28
			Ropemaker R 29
	Barber R 12	Cobbler R 11	
MAIN STREET			Tea-house R 30

Rope Street: Description of each shop

R 1. A: Rug-seller. — B: Ata Mohammad. — C: Sultan Mohammad. — D: Ropemaker.

R 2. A: Rug-seller. — B: Baba Kalan. — F: Died shortly after I left Tashqurghan.

R 3. A: Coppersmith. — B: Abdur Rahman. — D: Coppersmith.

R 4. A: Coppersmith. — B: Safar. — C: Subhan Qul. — D: Farmer.

- R 5. A: Rug-seller. — B: Sayed Murad. — C: Yumaqul. — D: Rug-seller.
- R 6. A: Ropemaker. — B: Shams. — C: Hazrat Qul. — D: Postman.
- R 7. A: Rug-seller. — B: Mohammad Saleh. — C: Asinaqul. — D: Rug-seller.
- R 8. A: Ropemaker. — B: Mohammad Sabur. — C: Mohammad Sharif. — D: Shoemaker. — F: Mohammad Sabur is the present *kalanthar* of the ropemakers.
- R 9. A: Ropemaker. — B: Sofi Mohammad Mir. — C: Aqa Mohammad. — D: Farmer. — E: One son is a *chagird*, Mohammad Razul.
- R 10. A: *Kabab*-shop. — B: Azim. — C: Mullah Lal Mohammad. — D: *Kebabi*-keeper.
- R 11. A: Cobbler.
- R 12. A: Barber. — B: Ramatullah. — C: Bori. — D: Barber.
- R 13. A: Rug-seller. — B: Gholam Nabi. — C: Mohammad Hazrat Qul. — D: *Mullah*.
- R 14. A: Coppersmith. — B: Sharif. — C: Mohammad Isa. — D: Farmer.
- R 15. A: Coppersmith. — B: Murad Ali. — F: Brother to C 30.
- R 16. A: Ropemaker. — B: Tabar Shah. — C: Jura. — D: Ropemaker.
- R 17. A: Coppersmith. — B: Satar.
- R 18. A: Ropemaker. — B: Aslam. — C: Mohammad Mahmood. — D: Farmer.
- R 19. A: Ropemaker. — F: This shop belongs to R 1.
- R 20. A: *Baqal*. — B: Amir Mohammad.
- R 21. A: Ropemaker. — B: Abdul Ahmad. — C: Abdul Aziz. — D: Baker.
- R 22. A: Ropemaker. — B: Nabi. — C: Arbab Baj. — D: Ropemaker.
- R 23. A: Ropemaker. — B: Sharif. — C: Ahmad Ali. — D: Gardener.
- R 24. A: Rug-seller. — B: Hadji Yumaqul. — C: Soleimanqul. — D: Rug-seller.
- R 25. A: Rug-seller. — B: Ismatullah. — C: Yumaqul. — D: Ropemaker.
- R 26. A: Rug-seller. — B: Noor Mohammad. — C: Soleimanqul. — D: Rug-seller.
- R 27. A: Ropemaker. — B: Taher. — C: Naser. — D: Ropemaker.
- R 28. A: Ropemaker. — B: Ahman Shah. — C: Mirza Shah. — D: Miller.
- R 29. A: Ropemaker. — B: Eivas Ali. — C: Juma. — D: Farmer.
- R 30. A: Tea-house. — B: Naim Shah.

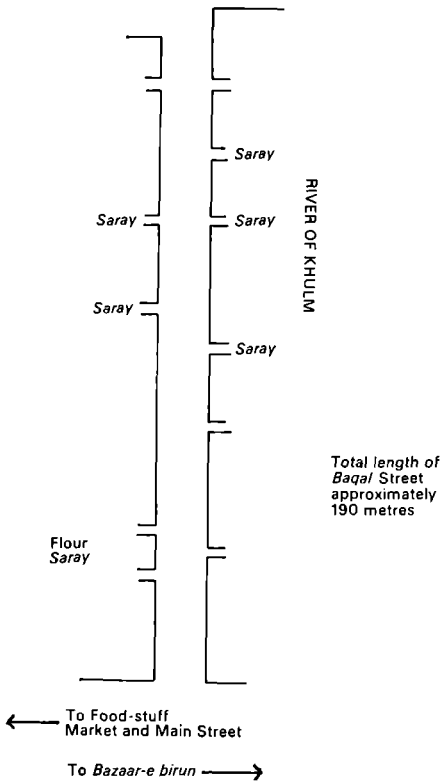
Baqal Street

Baqal Street: General description

Baqal Street is approximately 190 metres long and is an open street with mostly retail shops. The total number of shops is 143 of which 142 are in use.

The following shops are situated on Baqal Street: 54 *baqal*, 7 barbers, 3 cobblers, 6 tea-houses, 1 *roghan*-seller, 2 blacksmiths, 4 *pathragars*, 1 watch-maker, 1 flour-seller, 4 carpenters, 1 wood-seller, 9 tea-sellers, 5 almond traders, 5 *kunjarafus*, 3 rice-sellers, 13 butchers, 2 woodworkers, 1 copper-smith, 1 cage-maker, 12 candy-sellers, 1 cloth-dyer, 1 seller of agricultural chemicals, 1 bicycle-repairer, 1 hide trader, 1 *banjara*, 1 *kabab*-shop, and 1 restaurant.

Some of the shops also sell other types of merchandise besides their major goods, for example some tea-sellers also sell china, etc. (This is marked with a + on the location map.)



Baqal Street: Type of and location of shops

Barber
Cobbler
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Cobbler
STREET
Tea-house
Baqal
Private house
Baqal + fur
Baqal
Baqal + almonds
Baqal
Hide trader
Carpenter
Almond trader
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal

SARAY

Tea-house
Baqal
Roghan-seller
Baqal
Blacksmith
Almond trader
Banjara
Baqal
Baqal + cage

SARAY

Butcher
Baqal
Baqal
Butcher
Baqal
Blacksmith
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Pathragar
Baqal
Kabab-shop
Baqal
Pathragar
Restaurant
Barber
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Watchmaker
Private house
Tea-house
Flour-seller

COVERED STREET

Almond trader
Tea + China
Tea + China
Candy + China

COVERED STREET

Baqal + China
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Tea-seller
Empty shop
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Candy + China
Baqal
Baqal
Tea-seller
Tea-seller

← TO FODD-STUFF MARKET
AND MAIN STREET

Baqal
Cobbler
Carpenter
Woodworker
Carpenter
Tea-house
Carpenter
Wood-seller
Baqal

STREET

Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal

SARAY

Tea-seller
Baqal + tea
Baqal
Tea-seller
Bicycle-repairer
Tea-seller
Almond trader

SARAY

Baqal
Coppersmith
Butcher
Baqal
Kunjarafrus
Kunjarafrus
Kunjarafrus
Cloth-dyer
Kunjarafrus + Wood-seller +
repairing
Kunjarafrus
Pathragar + *Kunjarafrus* + onions
Woodworker
Cage-maker
Rice-seller
Rice-seller
Butcher
Butcher

SARAY

Tea-house
Baqal
Barber
Barber
Barber
Rice-seller + Almonds
Barber
Barber
Barber
Agricultural chemicals

STREET

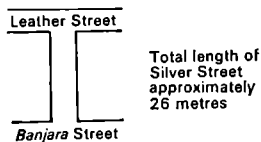
Pathragar
Baqal
Baqal
Baqal
Butcher
Butcher
Butcher
Butcher
Butcher
Baqal
Almond
Candy-seller

ENTRANCE TO A MADRASSA

Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Candy + China
Tea-house
Tea + Candy
Candy-seller
Candy-seller
Butcher
Butcher
Baqal
Butcher

TO BAZAAR-E BIRUN →

Silver Street



Silver Street: General description

Silver Street is approximately 26 metres long and is a covered manufacturing street. In fact Silver Street is the only highly specialized manufacturing street left in the bazaar of Tashqurghan where once all streets used to be specialized in this sense.

There are 22 shops on Silver Street (two corner shops excluded and included with *Banjara Street*) of which 15 are in use. One of them is a tea-house and the other 14 are exclusively manufacturing shops dedicated to silversmithing. Silver Street stretches from *Banjara Street* to *Leather Street*.

Silver Street: Type and of location of shops

LEATHER STREET	
Empty shop	Silversmith S 6
Silversmith S 1	Silversmith S 7
Empty shop	Silversmith S 8
Empty shop	Silversmith S 9
Silversmith S 2	Empty shop
Empty shop	Silversmith S 10
Empty shop	Silversmith S 11
Silversmith S 3	Silversmith S 12
Silversmith S 4	Silversmith S 13
Silversmith S 5	Silversmith S 14
Empty shop	Tea-house S 15
<i>Banjara</i>	<i>Banjara-atar</i>
BANJARA STREET	

Silver Street: Description of each shop

S 1. A: Silversmith. — B: Habibullah. — C: Karim. — D: Gardener. — E: Works alone.

S 2. A: Silversmith. — B: Jamal. — C: Mullah Mohammad Afiz. — D: Trader. — E: One son works as a *chagird*.

S 3. A: Silversmith. — B: Osman. — C: Taleb. — D: ? — E: Two sons work as *chagirds*.

S 4. A: Silversmith. — B: Hadji Juma. — C: Nasir. — D: Gardener. — E: Works alone.

S 5. A: Silversmith. — B: Karim Shah. — C: Qader Shah. — D: Silversmith. — E: One brother works as a *chagird*.

S 6. A: Silversmith. — B: Hamidullah. — C: Mohammadullah. — D: Silversmith. — E: One brother works as a *chagird*.

S 7. A: Silversmith. — B: Salam. — C: Dada Jan. — D: Silversmith. — E: One non-related *chagird*.

S 8. A: Silversmith. — B: Azim. — C: Baba Alim. — D: Gardener. — E: One son working as a *chagird*. — F: Azim is the present *kalanthar* of the silversmiths.

S 9. A: Silversmith. — B: Gholam Haider. — C: Hakim. — D: Silversmith. — F: Gholam Haider died during my stay in Tashqurghan (23.2.1972); his shop will be closed for an unknown period of time. The shop was still closed in July 1972.

S 10. A: Silversmith. — B: Nadir. — C: Abdul Qader. — D: Muleowner. — E: One son working as a *chagird*.

S 11. A: Silversmith. — B: Dada Jan. — C: Baba Jan. — D: Silversmith. — E: Works alone.

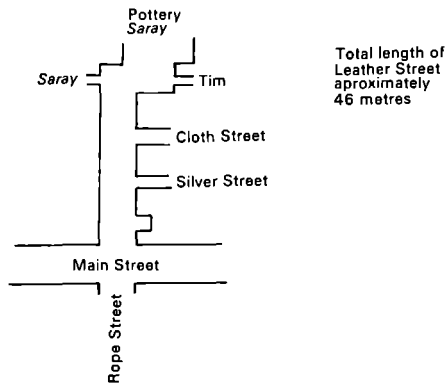
S 12. A: Silversmith. — B: Raof. — C: Dada Jan. — D: *Chaukidar* (= "night-watchman"). — E: One non-related *chagird*.

S 13. A: Silversmith. — B: Baba Kalan. — C: Bori. — D: Silversmith. — E: One son working as a *chagird*. — F: Baba Kalan has two wives; all the other silversmiths on this street are married but only have one wife each.

S 14. A: Silversmith. — B: Najim. — C: Habibullah. — D: Silversmith. — E: One brother working as a *chagird*.

S 15. A: Tea-house. — B: Nar Mohammad.

Leather Street



Leather Street: General description

Leather Street is approximately 46 metres long and is an open street with mostly retail shops. The total number of shops is 33 of which 22 are in use. Most of the empty shops are used as stores for leather and chemicals used for preparation of leather.

The following shops are situated on Leather Street: 14 combined leather-preparers/sellers, *charngar/charnfrus*, 3 leatherworkers, *seraj*, 1 book-seller, 1 cobbler, 1 watchmaker and 2 restaurants.

Very little preparing of leather is done on Leather Street which is mostly devoted to *seraj's* work together with selling of already prepared leather.

Leather Street: Type of and location of shops

SARAY

Leather-preparer/seller	L 1
Leather-preparer/seller	L 2
Leather-preparer/seller	L 3
Book-seller	L 4
Leather-preparer/seller	L 5
<i>Seraj</i>	L 6
Leather-preparer/seller	L 7
Leather-preparer/seller	L 8
Leather-preparer/seller	L 9
Leather-preparer/seller	L 10
Leather-preparer/seller	L 11
Leather-preparer/seller	L 12
Leather-preparer/seller	L 13
Cobbler	
Empty shop	

POTTERY SARAY

ENTRANCE TO TIM

E* E E E E
Empty shop
Empty shop
Empty shop
Empty shop

CLOTH STREET

Leather-preparer/seller	L 14
Restaurant	L 15
Leather-preparer/seller	L 16
<i>Seraj</i>	
Leather-preparer/seller	L 18
<i>Seraj</i>	L 19

SILVER STREET

Restaurant	L 20
------------	------

SMALL OPEN PLACE

Watchmaker	
Restaurant	L 20

SMALL OPEN PLACE

Watchmaker

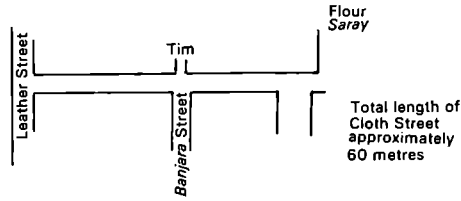
MAIN STREET

* Five empty shops used as store-rooms.

Leather Street: Description of each shop

- L 1. A: Leather-preparer/seller, *charngar/charnfrus*. — B: Sufi Mohazam. — C: Nazir Mohammad. — D: Farmer.
- L 2. Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Mohammadi. — C: Qambar. — D: Leather-preparer/seller. — F: Mohammadi is the present *kalanthar* of the leather-preparers/sellers.
- L 3. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Hadji Ghaffor. — C: Achildi. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 4. A: Book-seller. — B: Khorram. — C: Gholam Naqband. — F: Khorram is a very esteemed local poet; he is also a bookbinder and teaches children in his shop. Two of his sons are woodworkers (BW 74).
- L 5. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Hadji Amin. — C: Hazrat Qul. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 6. A: Leatherworker, *seraj*. — B: Qader. — C: Mohammad Karim. — D: *Seraj*.
- L 7. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Mohammad Shah. — C: Suleiman. — D: Rice-seller.
- L 8. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Mohammad Rasul. — C: Mohammad Amin. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 9. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Ata Khan. — C: Baba Khan. — D: Shoemaker.
- L 10. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Mohammad Osman. — C: Mohammad Hosain. — D: *Mullah*.
- L 11. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Hadji Timur. — C: Hadji Amin. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 12. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Rajab Ali. — C: Mohammad Ibrahim. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 13. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Hadji Hasan. — C: Rajab. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 14. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Ghaffor. — C: Murad Ali. — D: Rice-seller.
- L 15. A: Restaurant. — B: Mohammad Zahir. — C: Mohammad Nadir.
- L 16. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Noor Mohammad. — C: Achildi. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 17. A: *Seraj*. — B: Mullah Ahmad Shah. — C: ? — D: *Seraj*.
- L 18. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Taj Polat. — C: Qorban. — D: Leather-preparer/seller.
- L 19. A: *Seraj*. — B: Mullah Karim. — C: Sayed Shah. — D: *Mullah*.
- L 20. A: Restaurant. — B: Mohammad Saleh.

Cloth Street



Cloth Street: General description

Cloth Street is approximately 60 metres long and is a covered street with mostly retail shops. There are 37 shops on the street of which 30 are in use, the others being deserted or used as stores for the leather-preparers/sellers.

The following shops are situated on Cloth Street: 11 *karbaz*, 6 *chapan*-sellers, 5 tailors, 4 leather-preparers/sellers, 3 *bazaz*, and 1 *atar*.

Cloth Street: Type of and location of shops

Empty shop
Karbaz Cl 1
Karbaz Cl 2
Bazaz Cl 3
Karbaz Cl 4
Chapan-seller Cl 5
Bazaz Cl 6
Chapan-seller Cl 7

BANJARA STREET

Chapan-seller Cl 8
Chapan-seller Cl 9
Tailor Cl 10
Empty shop
Tailor Cl 11
Tailor Cl 12
Atar Cl 13
Leather-preparer/s. Cl 14
Leather-preparer/s. Cl 15
Empty shop
Leather-preparer/s. Cl 16
Leather-preparer/s. Cl 17

FLOUR SARAY

Karbaz Cl 18
Karbaz Cl 19
Karbaz Cl 20
Karbaz Cl 21
Karbaz Cl 22
Karbaz Cl 23

ENTRANCE TO TIM

Bazaz Cl 24
Chapan-seller Cl 25
Karbaz Cl 26
Karbaz Cl 27
Chapan-seller Cl 28
Tailor Cl 29
Empty shop
Tailor Cl 30
Empty shop
Empty shop
Empty shop

LEATHER STREET

Cloth Street: Description of each shop

Cl 1. A: *Karbazfrus*, (seller of *karbaz*, "home-made" Afghan cloth: this profession will be referred to as *karbaz* further on). — B: Sabir. — C: Mohammad Ayub. — D: Official.

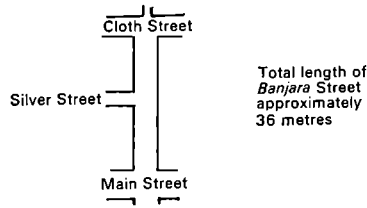
Cl 2. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Mohammad Akbar. — C: Ali Mohammad. — D: *Qaryadar* (= "elected village leader"). — F: Mohammad Akbar is the present *kalanthar* of the cloth-sellers.

Cl 3. *Bazazfrus* (seller of *bazaz*, factory-made imported cloth, very often of Indian or Pakistani origin; this profession will be referred to as *bazaz* further on). — B: Sayed Ambar. — C: Sayed Buran. — D: *Mullah*.

Cl 4. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Hadji Abdur Rahim. — C: Mullah Ibrahim. — D: Farmer.

- Cl 5. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Zaenuddin. — C: *Qari* Yelani. — D: *Bazaz*.
- Cl 6. A: *Bazaz*. — B: Habibullah. — C: Mohammadullah. — D: Silversmith.
- Cl 7. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Abdul Haq. — C: Hadji Zahir. — D: Mullah.
- Cl 8. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Obaidullah. — C: Eshanetura. — D: Religious official.
- Cl 9. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Hadji Naqishband. — C: Qorban. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 10. A: Tailor. — B: Sardar. — C: Hazrat Qul. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 11. A: Tailor. — B: Amir. — C: Sayed Ali. — D: Poet and singer. — F: Amir is the only Hazara in the bazaar.
- Cl 12. A: Tailor. — B: Majit. — C: Abdul Qudus. — D: Tailor.
- Cl 13. A: *Atar*. — B: Habibullah. — C: Izatullah. — D: *Atar*.
- Cl 14. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Qorban. — C: Ambar. — D: Caravan trader.
- Cl 15. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Hadji Rahim. — C: Imam Ali. — D: Shoemaker.
- Cl 16. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Isaq. — C: Mohammad Rasul. — D: *Mullah*.
- Cl 17. A: Leather-preparer/seller. — B: Abdul Wahid. — C: Qorban Shah. — D: Hunter.
- Cl 18. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Ghaussudin. — C: Zaenuddin. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 19. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Hadji Abdul Aziz. — C: Hadji Mohammad Sharif. — D: *Karbaz*.
- Cl 20. A: *Karbaz*. — B: *Qari* Abdul Hafiz. — E: Brother to Cl 19.
- Cl 21. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Gorgali. — C: Naser Begh. — D: *Karbaz*.
- Cl 22. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Jura Baj. — C: Ghaffor Shah. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 23. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Abdul Samad. — C: Qorban. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 24. A: *Bazaz*. — B: Gholam Sediq. — C: Abdul Hamid. — D: *Bazaz*.
- Cl 25. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Hayatullah. — C: Ishqi. — D: *Atar*.
- Cl 26. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Abdul Qader. — C: Azrar. — D: *Bazaz*.
- Cl 27. A: *Karbaz*. — B: Ibrahim. — C: Barat. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 28. A: *Chapan*-seller. — B: Abdul Hakim. — C: Sayed Shah. — D: Farmer.
- Cl 29. A: Tailor. — B: Sarwar. — C: Hosain. — D: Caravan trader.
- Cl 30. A: Tailor. — B: Hadji Qader. — C: Hadji Hosain. — D: Farmer.

Banjara Street



Banjara Street: General description

Banjara Street is approximately 35 metres long and is a covered selling street with 36 shops of which 35 are in use.

The following shops are situated on Banjara Street: 31 *banjara*, 2 *atar*, 1 whole-saler and 1 cloth-seller. Most of the shops belong to *banjaras* who display their merchandise on the *sofas*, on shelves and in small show-cases of glass.

The street is quite narrow and constantly murky. The roof is decorated with poetry calligraphed on white hard-paper boards, quoting mainly local poets. There are about 15 poetry placards, most of them in Farsi, some in Arabic.

Banjara Street: Type of and location of shops

ENTRANCE TO TIM	
CLOTH STREET	
Banjara B 1	
Banjara B 2	
Cloth-seller B 3	Banjara B 18
Whole-saler B 4	Banjara B 19
Empty shop	Banjara B 20
Banjara B 5	Banjara B 21
Banjara B 6	Banjara B 22
Banjara B 7	Banjara B 23
Atar-banjara B 8	Banjara B 24
	Banjara B 25
	Banjara B 26
	Banjara B 27
	Banjara B 28
	Atar B 29
	Banjara B 30
	Banjara B 31
	Banjara B 32
	Banjara B 33
	Banjara B 34
	Banjara B 35
	TO FOOD-STUFF MARKET →
SILVER STREET	
Banjara B 9	
Banjara B 10	
Banjara B 11	
Banjara B 12	
Banjara B 13	
Banjara B 14	
Banjara B 15	
Banjara B 16	
Banjara B 17	
MAIN STREET	

Banjara Street: Description of each shop

B 1. A: *Banjara*. — B: Mohammad Ali. — C: Hadji Qader. — D: Cloth-seller.

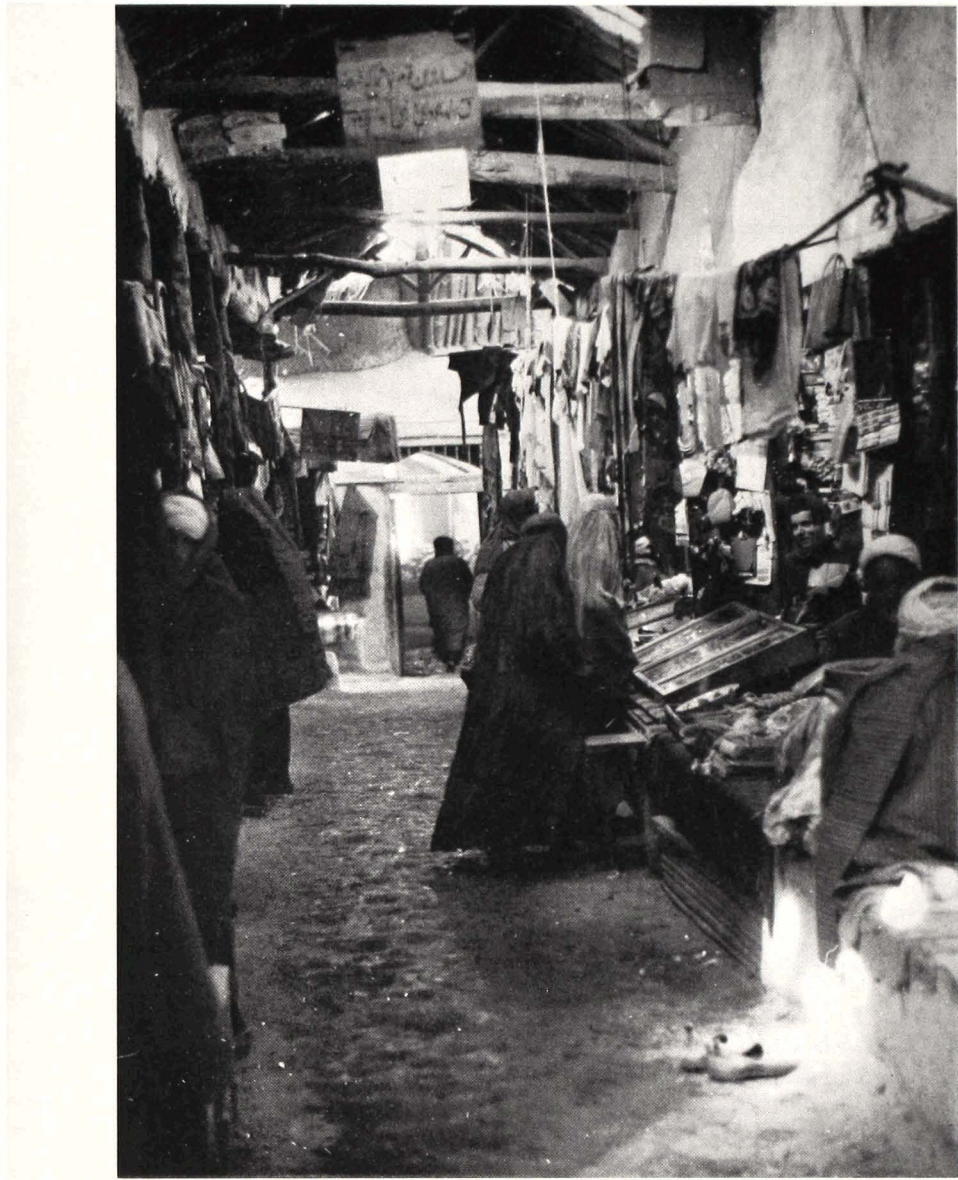
B 2. A: *Banjara*. — B: Mujibullah. — C: *Qari* Haider. — D: *Qari* (= a person who can recite the Koran by heart).

B 3. A: Cloth-seller. — B: Habibullah. — C: Qorban Shah. — D: Farmer.

B 4. A: Whole-saler. — B: Hadji Abdullah. — C: Shaqul. — D: Whole-saler.

B 5. A: *Banjara*. — B: Jabbar. — C: Abu Bakr. — D: Flour-seller.

B 6. A: *Banjara*. — B: Abdur Razeq. — C: Hadji Abdur Rahim. — D: Gardener.



Tashqurghan: *Banjara* Street and one of the four entrances to Tim.

B 7. A: Banjara. — B: Kabir. — F: Brother to B 5.

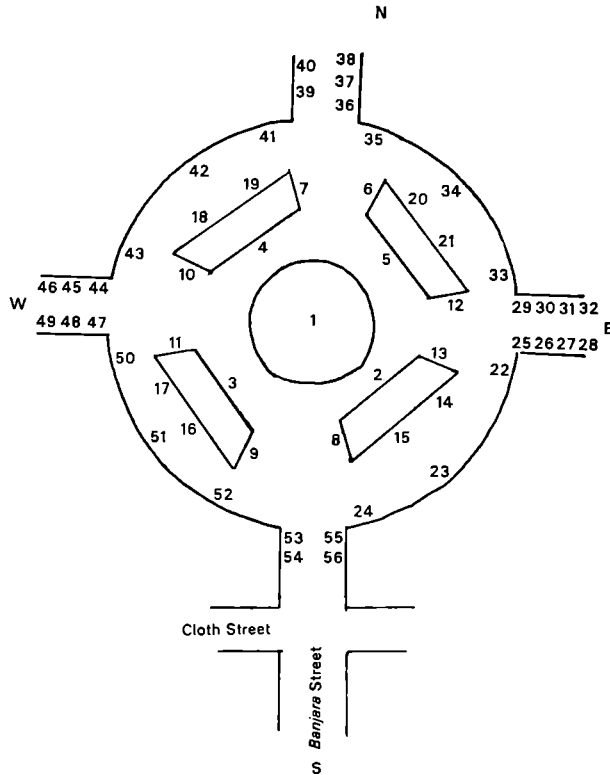
B 8. A: Atar-Banjara. — B: Mohammed Ismael Ahraj. — C: Aga Haider. — D: Shoemaker.

B 9. A: Banjara. — B: Abdul Satar. — C: Abdul Kader. — D: Banjara.

B 10. A: Banjara. — B: Sayed Naser. — C: Sayed Ziauddin. — D: Qari.

- B 11.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Ebadullah. — C: Mullah Barat. — D: *Banjara*.
- B 12.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Jar Mohammad. — C: Mullah Gholam Mohammad. — D: *Baqal*. — F: Jar Mohammad is the present *kalanthar* of the *banjaras*.
- B 13.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Hadji Yaqub. — C: Baba Quwat. — D: Farmer.
- B 14.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Mohammad Nabi. — C: Palawan Gora. — D: Innkeeper.
- B 15.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Hadji Abdullah. — C: Hadji Yaqub. — D: Farmer.
- B 16.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Mullah Amir Mohammad. — C: Niaz Mohammad. — D: *Banjara*.
- B 17.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Yaqub. — C: Dad Mohammad. — D: Coppersmith.
- B 18.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Sayed Qul. — C: Imam Qul. — D: *Banjara*
- B 19.** *Banjara*. — B: Qari Hamidullah. — C: Mullah Karim Shah. — D: Potter.
- B 20.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Aref. — C: Hadji Abdullah. — D: Gardener.
- B 21.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Amanullah. — C: Rahmanullah. — D: Rice-seller.
- B 22.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Saifullah. — F: Brother to B 2.
- B 23.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Mullah Sultan. — C: Baba Amir. — D: Cook.
- B 24.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Mir Aga. — C: Sayed Abdullah. — D: Official.
- B 25.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Hedayat. — C: Hadji Achildi. — D: *Banjara*.
- B 26.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Izatullah. — C: Hadji Afiz. — D: *Banjara*. — F: B 26 is the son of B 27.
- B 27.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Hadji Afiz. — C: Mohammad Amin. — D: Gardener.
- B 28.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Nematullah. — C: Gul Mohammad. — D: *Banjara*.
- B 29.** A: *Atar*. — B: Nooruddin. — C: Ziabaj. — D: *Baqal*.
- B 30.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Mohammad Zahir. — C: Barat. — D: Coppersmith.
- B 31.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Ghaffor. — C: Nemat. — D: Gardener.
- B 32.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Ghaffor. — C: Aqa Jan. — D: Gardener.
- B 33.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Ibadullah. — C: Bori. — D: Mason.
- B 34.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Hadji Abdullah. — C: Hadji Badel Shah. — D: Cloth-seller.
- B 35.** A: *Banjara*. — B: Abdur Rashid. — C: Gholam Mohammad. — D: Coppersmith. — F: Abdur Rashid used to be a coppersmith like his father but he changed his occupation because he couldn't make enough money in that craft.

Tim



Tim: General description

The Tim of Tashqurghan (Central Bazaar Building) is a large cupola house made of mud-brick with four entrances. Inside the building there are about 55 shops both selling and manufacturing. YATE gives the following description of the Tim:

“and culminating in a curious sort of *chaharsu*, forming the centre of the cloth-market called the *Tim*. The shops were shut, as is usually in these parts except on market days; but the building was worth seeing, being nicely domed and ornamented with lots of small china saucers let into the walls. The moneychangers all sat on a risid platform in the centre ...” (p. 317).

Today Tim is used for selling caps,¹ making and selling of shoes and to a minor degree for selling rice. Most of the shops are permanent small niches in the mud-brick walls and a small number of sellers operate on loose wooden benches. The raised platform in the middle is used as a selling place for shoes and caps sold by the same person. He is the only one trading in both shoes and caps whereas the others only trade in one of these two things.

The decoration of antique Chinese saucers adapted into the mud-brick in the large middle cupola, is still left—a memory of the old days of the caravan-trade.

Both the cap-sellers and the shoemakers/sellers in the Tim share a *kalanthar* (called *kalanthar-e Tim*) who for the present moment (1972) is Ahmad Shah.

¹ Vide CENTLIVRES, p. 44 and fig. 26.

The Tim is privately owned by Azim (who also owns the Pottery *Saray*), living in Kabul, son of Abdul Karim, former governor, *wali*, of Mazar-e Sharif, and each shopkeeper pays him a monthly rent ranging from 30 to 50 afghanis. In 1971 the government decided to buy Tim in order to preserve it as a cultural monument and Azim agreed to sell it for 300 000 afghanis but the papers are not finished yet and in March 1972 Azim is still the owner of Tim and continues to collect his rent. All the cap-sellers, *kulafirus*, are Tajiks and the shoemakers/sellers are mixed Tajiks and Uzbaks.

At night the four entrances of the Tim are locked and all the merchandise kept in the building guarded by a *chaukidar*, or watchman as in all other bazaars.¹ The *chaukidar* is paid 12 afghanis monthly from each shopkeeper for his services. The present *chaukidar* is Chari Baj, an 80 year old Uzbek, formerly donkey-rider, who started this job in the beginning of 1971.

The following shops are situated in the Tim: 17 cap-sellers and 1 combined cap-seller/shoe-seller, 18 shoemakers, and 7 shoe-sellers. 12 shops are empty; some of them are used by the rice-sellers.

Tims also existed in Bokhara (VAMBERY, p. 331; SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 94) and one of them had a high vaulted ceiling and contained 120 shops, many of them selling cloth (VAMBERY, p. 331); while others sold "silk, velvet, and cloth goods, while others are filled with cotton goods, shoes, caps, turbans, and knives" (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 94).

In Samarkand "the chief portions of the old bazaar are the *timi*, a large octagonal covered building, where the smaller things are sold, and one or two wooden houses for silk and cotton goods" (SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 257). Several other towns in Central Asia also had Tims, for example Shaar (SCHUYLER, vol. II, p. 70).

Tim: Description of each shop

1. A: Cap and shoe-seller. — B: Gholam Haider. — C: Badal Shah. — D: ?
2. A: Cap-seller. — B: Hadji Abdur Razeq. — C: Mullah Mohammad Murad. — D: Teacher.
3. A: Cap-seller. — B: Abdur Razeq. — C: Suleiman. — D: Rice-seller.
4. A: Cap-seller. — B: Hadji Abdul Majit. — F: Brother to 2 and 16.
5. A: Cap-seller and teacher. — B: Abdul Aziz Malim. — C: ? — D: Government treasury keeper of Khulm.
6. A: Cap-seller. — B: Ismael. — C: Gholam Daoud. — D: Farmer.
7. A: Cap-seller. — B: Qcamuddin. — C: Qayum Baj. — D: Shoe-seller.
8. A: Cap-seller. — B: Qari Jar Mohammad. — C: Badal Shah. — D: ?
9. A: Cap-seller. — B: Mullah Karim. — C: Sharif Baj. — D: Cap-seller.
10. Empty shop.
11. Empty shop.
12. A: Cap-seller. — B: Mullah Rajab Shah.
13. A: Cap-seller. — B: Qari Mohammad. — C: Mullah Sharif. — D: *Mullah*.
14. A: Shoemaker. — B: Hadji Abdul Qahar. — C: Badal Shah. — D: Gardener.

¹ There are 18 *chaukidars* in the bazaar of Tashqurghan.

15. A: Shoemaker. — B: Taj Mohammad. — C: Imam Ali. — D: Gardener.
16. A: Cap-seller. — B: Abdul Hamid. — F: Brother to 2 and 4.
17. A: Shoemaker. — B: Abdul Hafiz. — D: Shoemaker.
18. Empty shop.
19. Empty shop.
20. A: Shoemaker. — B: Faizullah. — C: Gholam Shah. — D: Shoemaker.
21. A: Shoemaker. — B: Ahmad Shah. — C: Mohammad Amin. — D: Shoemaker. — F: Ahmad Shah is the present *kalanthar-e Tim*.
22. A: Shoemaker. — B: Mohammad Mossa. — C: Qasim. — D: Shoemaker.
23. A: Shoemaker. — B: Mullah Abdur Rahman. — C: Qorban. — D: Shoemaker.
24. A: Shoemaker. — B: Abdullah. — C: Abdur Rahman. — D: Shoemaker.
25. A: Shoemaker. — B: Mullah Ebrahim. — C: Azim. — D: Shoemaker.
26. A: Shoemaker. — B: Mohammad Hakim. — C: Mohammad Sayed. — D: Shoemaker.
27. A: Shoemaker. — B: Qayum. — C: Qorban. — D: Shoemaker.
28. Empty shop.
29. A: Shoemaker. — B: Abdur Rahim. — C: Faiz Mohammad. — D: Shoemaker.
30. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Osman Beg. — C: Mullah Bolta. — D: *Mullah*.
31. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Mullah Yaqub. — C: Mullah Hosain. — D: *Mullah*.
32. A: Shoemaker. — B: Iskander. — C: Kalander. — D: Shoemaker.
33. A: Cap-seller. — B: Abdur Razeq. — C: Mullah Qader. — D: Gardener.
34. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Mohammad Amin. — C: Ramad. — D: Shoemaker.
35. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Qayum Baj. — C: Qari Abdul Ghaffor. — D: *Qari*.
36. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Mullah Abdul Wahab. — C: Mullah Qader. — D: Gardener.
37. Empty shop.
38. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Hadji Mirak.
39. A: Shoemaker. — B: Ghaffor. — C: Abdur Rahim. — D: Rug-seller.
40. A: Shoemaker. — B: Baba. — C: Shal Murad. — D: Shoemaker.

41. A: Cap-seller. — B: Abdullah. — C: Baba Khan. — D: Tailor.
42. A: Cap-seller. — B: Khalil. — C: Evaz. — D: Farmer.
43. A: Shoemaker. — B: Abdul Karim. — C: Awliaqul. — D: Flour-seller.
44. Empty shop.
45. Empty shop.
46. Empty shop.
47. Empty shop.
48. Empty shop.
49. Empty shop.
50. A: Shoemaker. — B: Ghaffor. — C: Abdul Qader. — D: Shoemaker.
51. A: Shoe-seller. — B: Hadji Mirak.
52. A: Shoemaker. — B: Yaqub Shah. — C: Suleiman. — D: Shoemaker.
53. A: Cap-seller. — B: Abdul Hamid. — F: Brother to 2, 4 and 16.
54. A: Cap-seller. — B: Sayed Qasem. — C: Eshan. — D: *Mullah*.
55. A: Cap-seller. — B: Mullah Ismad. — C: Hadji Sharif. — D: Trader.
56. A: Capseller. — B: Qari Nasrullah. — C: Sayed Abdullah. — D: *Mullah*.

Rice Saray

Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
 Rice-seller
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 Tea-house
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 Ejaradar

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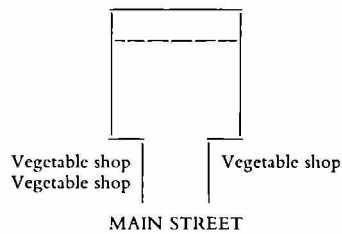
MAIN STREET

Rice *Saray*, *mandai-ye berenjfrusi*, which is on Main Street is a large open courtyard which is connected to Main Street by a short covered street with retail shops on each side. The covering of the street was re-made in 1970. Rice is thus sold in the small covered street and in the open courtyard which was used earlier as an ordinary caravan-*saray*. Two *ejaradars* rent the whole *saray* from its owner and collect some money from the rice-vendors, *berenjfrus*, when each load of rice arrives. This is a kind of rent for letting them use the *saray* as a market. The *ejaradars* pay 48 000 afghanis annually to the Municipality for having their authorization to be *ejaradars* plus 22 000 afghanis annually to the owner of the *saray*.

Vegetable *Saray*

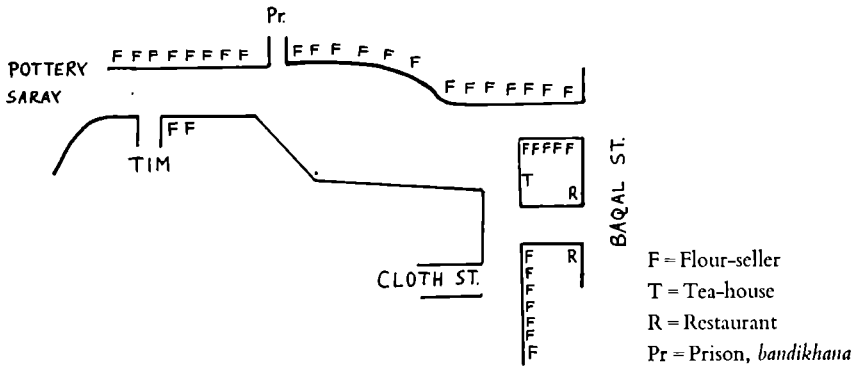


Tashqurghan: Vegetable *Saray*.



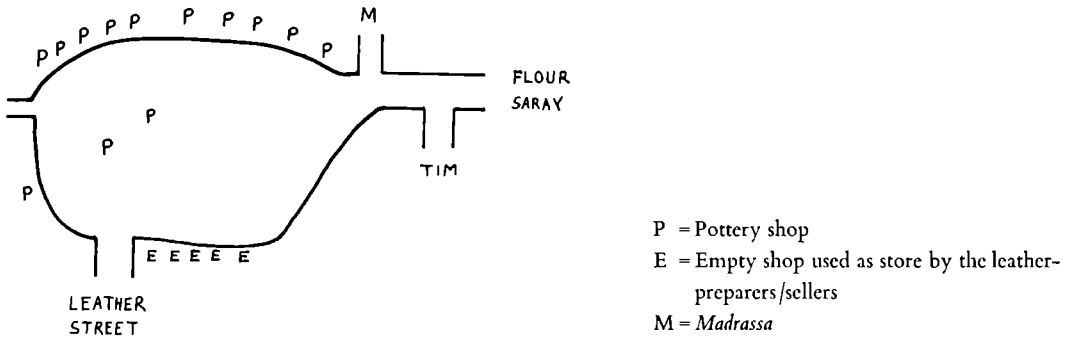
Vegetable *Saray*, *mandai-ye sawsfrusi* or *Saray-e Gholam Jan*, is an old caravan-*saray* on Main Street and is a neighbour of Rice *Saray*. It is connected to Main Street by a small open street where three permanent retail shops are situated. The whole *saray* is used for selling mostly vegetables which are brought into town from the rural areas around Tashqurghan.

Flour Saray



Flour Saray, *mandai-ye ard*, is a large courtyard with small shops around it operated by flour-sellers, *ardfrus*. It is connected by a small street to Pottery Saray, Baqal Street and Cloth Street. Flour Saray is exclusively a selling place for flour and no other trade is conducted there. The *ejaradar* pays annually 35 000 afghanis to the Municipality.

Pottery Saray



Pottery Saray, *saray-e kulala*, a large open courtyard, is connected to Flour Saray, Rice Saray, Tim and Leather Street. Around the courtyard small shops are located and the *saray* is a typical selling area with very little manufacturing. Pottery brought from workshops situated in other parts of Tashqurghan is sold here. The only type of pottery actually made in the Pottery Saray is the *tandurs* (a type of oven). The leather-preparers use the *saray* sometimes when they prepare hides and some of the empty shops are in use as their store-rooms.

Some other Trade and Craft Sarays/Areas

"Hide Saray", an old caravan-saray situated in the continuation of upper Main Street (No. 29 on the sketch-map) which is used for the preparation of hides and *karakul*. The *saray* also functions as a buying and selling place for all sorts of hides.

Kerosene *Saray*, *saray-e kishmish*, is also an old caravan-*saray* situated in the continuation of upper Main Street (No. 28 on the sketch-map). The *saray* is nowadays used for two purposes, a selling market for imported Russian kerosene and a market for raisin-traders.

Food-stuff Market, *mandai-ye baqali*, is an open area at the end of Main Street just before one reaches the river (No. 11 on the sketch-map) where mostly various types of food-stuffs are sold, together with some kerosene and other articles.

Open-air Market is an open area close to the river where mostly people from the surrounding areas come and sell their products which chiefly consist of food-stuffs, meat, wood, and hides. A few small restaurants are also situated in tents on the banks of the river for the convenience of the people visiting the market.

Live-stock Market, *gosfandbazaar*, lies in the same direction as the Open-air Market (No. 40 on the sketch-map) and is just a large piece of ground used mostly for selling sheep. The area is rented by an *ejaradar* paying 1 000 afghanis per year to the owner and 50 000 afghanis per year to the Municipality.

The Crafts

This section is a description of the various crafts and trades found in Tashqurghan emphasizing the crafts, the craftsmen, and the technology of each craft and the major products manufactured in the bazaar. Some socio-economic information is also added to this section.

The bazaar consists of *makers* and *sellers* or to be more precise, combined makers/sellers or only sellers.

The makers are discussed first and then follows a general description of the sellers; it would be impossible to exclude those who only sell as they form an essential part of the bazaar and, which will be shown in part three, are closely interrelated financially to the makers.

The Craftsmen

All craftsmen and sellers, with few exceptions, are organized into several special guilds, *senf*, each with an elected leader officially called *wakil-e senfi* but in ordinary life referred to as *kalanthar*, meaning "The Great". Each *senf* elects their own *kalanthar*, who is unpaid. As a rule, however, he receives a small amount of money of symbolic character once or twice a year, *kalantharpuli*. Each member of the *senf* might for instance make a yearly contribution to their *kalanthar* of ten to twenty afghanis. The *kalanthars* are elected by the members of each *senf* and when the election has taken place a letter is sent to the Municipality informing them about the new *kalanthar*. The *kalanthar* also receives a small gift from the *senf* on this occasion. The *kalanthar* remains in his position as long as he is in favour of the *senf* or until he resigns. The *kalanthars* are the official representatives of the craftsmen/sellers of each *senf* to the local government. They take care of "the official business", settle disputes within the group and work as informal advisers in most matters. Besides this they keep their normal professions. Two of the *kalanthars* are actually paid; those of the bakers and the cart-conductors, *gadiwan*. They receive 10 afghanis each monthly, from each member of the *senf*.

As we have already seen, the *kalanthar* acts as an informal adviser besides having official duties. Within his *senf* he is always present on all occasions of celebration such as when the *hadjis* (pilgrims) come back from the Holy Mecca, circumcision, marriage, etc. He also collects *shikan*, a

payment, or rather a gift, given by the members of a *senf* when one of their fellow-members is forced to do unpaid day-work for the Municipality.

Another small contribution collected by the *kalanthar* from the members of his *senf* is the *inami*, a gift from the *senf* to old and sick *ustads* not able to work any longer.

Some crafts/trades do not have a *kalanthar* of their own but depend on another group's and some crafts/trades are entirely without *kalanthar*. In Tashqurghan there are about 80 different crafts/trades registered by the Municipality and altogether there are 25 *kalanthars*.

Most of the crafts/trades have their protector of religious origin who is supposed to have initiated the craft/trade in the remote past. Each craft/trade having an initiator, *pir*, pays respect to him as a kind of guardian of his profession.

The *pirs* are:

Bakers: *Jabrail*
Banjara, atar: Loqman or *Sheykh atari*
Barbers: *Salam*
Baqal: Khwaja-ye baqal
Builders: *Ibrahim*
Butchers: *Jawanmard-e qasab*
Candymakers: *Sheykh pir-e shakargar*
Cloth-dyers: *Isa*
Cobblers: *Baba paraduz*
Farmers, flour-sellers: *Baba-ye dehqan*
Karbaz, bazaz: Imam Azam
Leather-preparers: *Akhi*
Oil-sellers: *Khwaja rushmai*
Potters: *Seyd Mir-e kulal*
Ropemakers: *Imam Jafar*
Shoemakers, *seraj: Sale*
Silversmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths: *Davud*
Tailors: *Idris*
Tea-house: *Khwaja abjush*
Woodworkers: *Nu*

Each craft/trade and each *pir* has its own religious writings, *risala*, a sort of professional code, concerning the craft/trade.¹ These are kept by the *kalanthars* or *ustads* of the various crafts/trades.

In each craft/trade there is a marked stratification among the persons involved.

The shops are generally referred to as *dokan*, meaning both selling and manufacturing shops, though mostly selling shops while workshops are sometimes referred to as *karkhana*. The word *dokandar* is used to denote a shop-keeper who is mostly a seller.

¹ Cf. SCHUYLER: "Every trade guild has a written tradition called *resala* or 'message' with mythical stories of its origin and directions as to the proper manner of work ..."

(vol. I, p. 191 et seq.) Vide etiam GAVRILOV (*risala*); SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH pp. 156-158 (guilds and *pirs*); DEMONT-CENTLIVRES p. 60 (*kalanthars* and *senfs*).

The merchants are generally called collectively, *tejar*, and the craftsmen *kaseb/kespi*, or within the group, *hampir*, meaning "of the same *pir*"; a similar expression among the merchants is *qami*. Manual work is also referred to as *kar-e dasti*.

Each workshop is run by an *ustad*, master, who owns or rents the locality, owns the tools and is in command of the work. Most of the *ustads* have apprentices, *chagirds*, preferably relatives, who are unpaid but receive food, clothes, sometimes lodging and some pocket-money during their period of apprenticeship. A *chagird* who has finished his training period and is employed by an *ustad* is called *khalifa*. After the *chagird* period a *khalifa* can become a *ustad* if he opens a shop of his own.

The *chagirds* also study the *risala* in order to learn the code of their profession.

When the *chagird* period has terminated the *chagird* receives the status of *ustad/khalifa*. In some crafts such as blacksmiths and butchers, the transition of status is a true *rite de passage*. Thus, the *chagird* period ends with a transition-ceremony, *kammarbandi*, which usually takes place in a garden. Food is taken, religious texts are read, and the *ustad* often give the *ustad-to-be* various tests. All the members of the *senf* are present and the former *chagird* gives his *ustad* a turban and some clothes, and a *chapan* to the *kalanthar*. The *kammarbandi* does not take place if the *chagird* is the son of the *ustad*.

The sellers, or, correctly speaking, the retailers, *wafrus*, follow a similar pattern though not so pronouncedly as among the craftsmen. The shopkeeper, *dokandar*, has *chagirds*, and sometimes *khalifas*; but as a rule a shopkeeper/seller does not have more than one *chagird*, often his (eldest) son who is going to inherit the shop. Moreover, the system of having employees, *khalifas*, is not common among the sellers.

Another difference between craftsmen and sellers is that while both groups prefer relatives as *chagirds* the number of non-related *chagirds* is higher among the craftsmen than among the sellers, probably for reasons connected with inheritance. It must be stressed here that the selling shops are considered wealthier than the manufacturing ones and that generally a seller, due to this fact, has higher social status than a craftsman.

The *chagird* period in a selling shop is not arranged as in a maker's shop. The *chagird* in a selling shop undergoes training for a few years, learning about prices and the merchandise and when he is considered to know the profession he works part-time by himself in the shop without the supervision of the shopkeeper.

The situation of having a *chagird* working alone in the shop and responsible for the trade would not occur among the craftsmen. To work without a *chagird* is far more common among sellers than craftsmen and I would venture to say that while approximately 9/10 of the craftsmen have *chagirds* only about 6/10 of the sellers have them.

The Silversmith

Silver ornaments such as bracelets, necklaces, earrings, foot-rings, finger-rings, etc., of different types, play an important role in the Afghan dress. Jewellery is worn on all occasions, even daily while working. Ornaments are worn by men and women of all ages, both among settled people



Tashqurghan: A silversmith using his *pofak* assisted to the left by his *chagird*. On the right side an *anwari*.

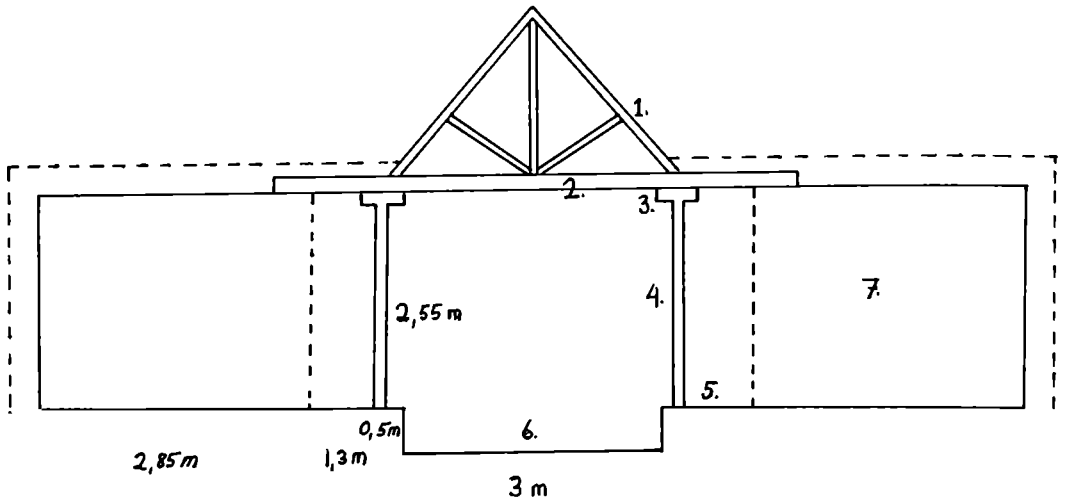
and nomads alike, but there is a tendency among nomad women to use more silver ornaments than settled people.

Men wear mostly gold rings set with stones if they can afford it. Another widespread article used both by men and women is the *tauwiz*-cover¹ nowadays made chiefly of white metal resembling silver (*silvar, gilet*) or thin silver sheets with a simple decor and attached to the dress. A *tauwiz* is a kind of amulet which protects the wearer against different kinds of evil. It consists mainly of a piece of paper with holy writing on it, often made by a *mullah* or a *tauwizgar*, and protected in a special kind of cover manufactured by the silversmiths or sometimes by the leatherworkers, *seraj*.

The silversmiths or *zargar*, (which literally means "goldsmith" as there is no clear distinction between the two crafts), work in the covered bazaar of Tashqurghan in a special street called Silver Street or *raste zageri*. In Tashqurghan there used to be 20 silversmiths but today (1972) there are only 15 (14) left.

Three silversmiths work alone while all the others have apprentices or *chagirds*, being in most cases sons or relatives of the master or *ustad*. Only one of the silversmiths has got two *chagirds*, the

¹ Cf. SJOBERG, p. 110; SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH, p. 86 ff; ALI, 1969, p. 47.



Profile of Silver Street 1. *Destak*. 2. *Tir*. 3. *Basa*. 4. *Sutun*. 5. *Sofa*. 6. *Rasta*. 7. *Tavilkhana*.

others having one. The *chagirds* aim to be *ustads/khalifas* themselves and to reach that position they have to work as *chagirds* for a period of five years. During that time they receive no direct payment, except some pocket-money, but each *ustad* gives his *chagird* clothes and food. In Tashqurghan all silversmiths are Tajiks, with the exception of one who is Arab, they are all married and have one wife each with the exception of silversmith Baba Kalan (s 13), who has got two wives. Out of 15 silversmiths 7 come from silversmith families and earlier the craft was kept mostly within the family, a condition which is changing today.

They follow the same pattern of taxation as the blacksmiths (vide p. 78).

The silversmith and his apprentice work directly on the floor which is usually covered with simple woven carpets, *kilims*, or bastfibre, *borya*, sitting with crossed legs or in a kneeling position on pillows, *tushak*. Chairs are not used and all the work and business transactions as well as several tea-breaks are carried out on the floor. He uses the traditional tools and methods used for centuries. The only "modern" tools in his possession are different types of tongs (large pincers, flat-nosed pliers, etc.), files of varying sizes, different knives and cutters and often a modern scale. The comparatively small number of tools is remarkable.

In the middle of the working-space is the hearth, of which there are several different types. Two main types can be clearly distinguished, the one with an underground air channel and the type without. Both types are referred to as *kura*. The first type has an underground channel or tube ending in its middle and connected to a pair of bellows at the other end, so that air can easily be fed to the fire. The bellows are usually operated by the apprentice. There are several types of bellows, one modern one often imported from Pakistan which is operated with a handle, *dau*, and a few older and more traditional types made of leather.

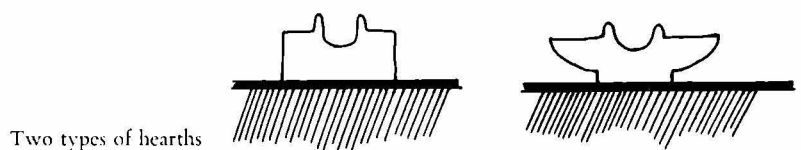
The other type of hearth lacks this underground air system and is fed air with ordinary loose bellows. The fuel in the hearth is always charcoal, *zoghul*, bought from the charcoal-*saray* in Tashqurghan (sketch-map, p. 26, nr 21).

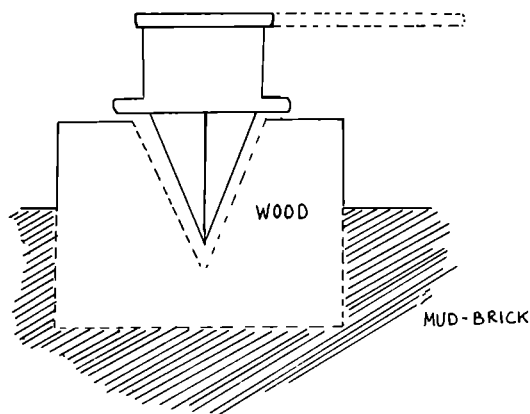


Tashqurghan: A silversmith's *kura* on a *sofa* outside a workshop on Silver Street. Note the wicker carpet, the *kunda* for attaching implements (right) and the chain which serves as a lock (left).

The approximate size of the hearth is 0.5 m² and 25 cm in height. The hearth is always made of clay, mud-brick or mud-brick mixed with straw. It can have two different shapes: Round or rectangular. In the middle of the hearth is a depression surrounded by rims in which the charcoal burns. In the type of hearth with an underground air system this terminates in the centre of the depression.

Sometimes entire objects of various types of silver are made by means of casting (bracelets, etc.). A special mould of brass, *darayi*, shaped like two boxes, is used. Briefly, the technique employed is like this: The two boxes, both having one side open, are filled with a mixture of earth and fruit-juice which is pressed down firmly in them. A fine charcoal powder is put on the rims to prevent the two halves becoming adhesive. The object which the silversmith is going to copy is pressed down into the blackish mass in the boxes and then removed. A channel for the metal is made and after this the melted metal is poured into the mould.





Anvil

The *cire perdue*-technique is not known.

Most of the working of the silver is done on a large anvil, *sangdan*, or on smaller ones, *dubini*, like those used by coppersmiths and shoemakers. The large anvil, which is made of steel with a polished surface, is about 25 cm in height and is driven into a piece of wood, *kunda*, which is fixed to the mud-brick floor. The large anvil can be of two types, one with a square-shaped top and one with a bigger rectangular-shaped top. The latter type gives more space for working.

To intensify the warmth from the charcoal fire in the hearth when working on smaller silver objects the silversmith uses a blowpipe, *pofak*. This is made of brass or copper and is about 50–60 cm in length, approximately 2.5 cm in diameter at the broadest part and 0.5 cm in diameter at the narrow part close to the fire. This blowpipe is used as a complement to the bellows but some silversmiths use only the blowpipe and have no bellows.

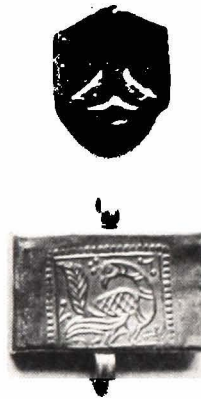
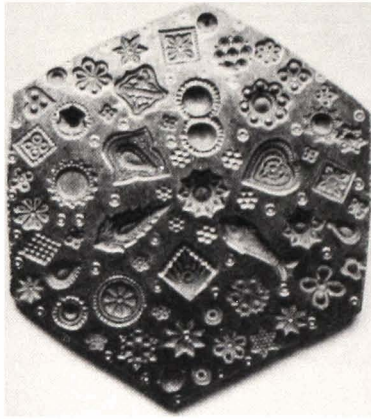
Warm specimens of metal are moved in the fire with tweezers, *atashgir*, made of iron. The tweezers are very simple in construction; two pieces of iron just soldered together at the top. The silversmith uses tweezers of different sizes varying from about 30 to 15 cm in length.

Some patterns and designs, such as flower-decor, simple animals reduced to geometrical forms, geometric decorations, etc., are punched out on the silver by means of different matrices, *qaleb*. The matrices are mostly imported from Pakistan today. They are chiefly made of bronze or iron, although stone matrices can be found, this being unusual, however. The matrices vary in size from 2 cm² and bigger and they are shaped as circles, squares or hexagons. When the silversmith wants to decorate a piece of jewellery made of silver or gold with a special design he places the object on the matrice and works on it with his hammer.¹

Gold-leaf used for decoration of silver ornaments is either bought ready-made or manufactured by the silversmith himself. When made by him he uses two small slabs probably made of soap-stone; the piece of gold is first put in the fire and after that pressed and rubbed between the two

¹ Vide DUPAIGNE Fig. 37. The same types of matrices for decoration of silver-work are found in Pakistan (field-note 1972); Kuwait (HIRSCHBERG/JANATA, p. 100); North-Africa and Iraq (Collection, Musée de l'Homme, Paris);

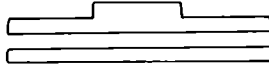
The Peoples Republic of Mongolia (Collection, Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig); Nepal (field-note 1971); Tibet (field-note: Personal communication with Tibetans living in Nepal, 1971).



Matrices (antique), simple *tawwiz*-cover (modern) and a silver ornament (antique). (Collection: C-J. Charpentier.)

slabs, *sangelem*. The slabs are about 15 cm in diameter and about two cm thick. The *sangelem* is operated by hand with one of the slabs on the floor and the other in the hand or with the whole apparatus in the hands.

The quality of the gold is tested on a special “testing-stone” called *mahak*, a dark green or blackish stone. When the silversmith wants to test the quality of a specimen of gold he takes the piece of gold and rubs it against the small *mahak*. When rubbing like this yellow lines are left on the stone. According to the different shades of the yellow lines the silversmith is able to judge the quality of the gold. One of the silversmiths of Tashqurghan tested my 18 carate wedding-ring



Sangelem

on the *mahak* and remarked that the quality of my ring was very good. The *mahaks* are found in the mountains and they seem to be quite rare. I purchased two small pieces of *mahak* for 100 afghanis in 1970.

When working out the silver on the anvil the silversmith uses hammers, *tjakush*, of different sizes. The hammer is mostly of steel and has a wooden handle. Hammers are either imported or manufactured by the local blacksmiths, who also supply the silversmith with several other tools.

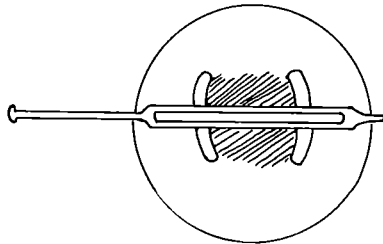
Lac, *lak*, is used by the silversmith for two purposes. First as a "glue" for attaching precious and semi-precious stones to silver or gold ornaments and secondly as a filling material.

Stones are often mounted in all types of jewellery. Rubies and turquoises are much appreciated as well as the blue lapis lazuli from Badakshan and chalcedony, onyx, amethyst, quartzes, coral, garnet, sapphire, etc. Among the cheaper stones agates are very popular and those who can't afford real stones in their ornaments use red lac, multicoloured glass and synthetic products. The turquoise is considered to bring luck to its owner.

Nowadays solid heavy ornaments of silver and gold are quite rare and therefore lac is used as a filling, when such is required. When making balls of silver for a necklace these are not solid but hollow. Lac is then cut into slices, warmed in the fire and pressed into the silver ball to make it solid which also facilitates the decoration of the article as it is easier to stamp the decor on a solid piece than on a hollow one. The lac is dark brown in colour and is kept in thumb-thick bars.

When a lac-filled silver ornament is to be decorated it is put in a wooden holder and the design is stamped on the article with a small hammer and a chisel. The chisel is called *qalam* which literally means "pen". It is about 5 cm long, made of iron with a broad edge at one end. With the chisel a simple geometric design is made on the object.

There are two ways of melting silver and other metals. It can be melted in an ordinary small metal crucible, *bouta*, which is put on the fire. The melting can also be done in a combined melting and moulding-form called *redja*, which is an approximately 40 cm long steel bar with a hollow in the middle. The metal can be melted directly in the *redja*, or, first melted in the *bouta* and then poured into the *redja*, where it is shaped to a rectangular piece, which is then worked on. The *redja* is always put across the fire on the rims of the hearth.



Redja

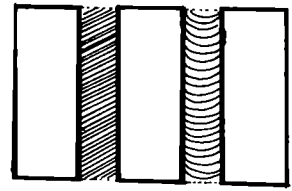
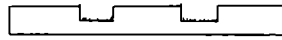
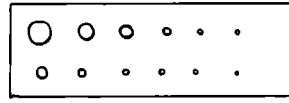


Plate for making silver thread and matrices for decoration of silver threads (profile and from above)

The original materials from which the silversmiths makes his ornaments are:

- Silver threads and silver bars in original condition
- Old broken silver objects
- Old coins, Afghan and foreign.

Formerly all types of coins were used: Gold coins from Bokhara, Dutch ducats, Venetian sequins, Chinese gold and silver coins, etc. Nowadays one can still see remains of old coins used in different ornaments and the method of melting coins is still used when coins of good silver or gold can be obtained. Today no Afghan coins are made of silver and most of the old coins formerly used are sold to tourists and antique-dealers. In March 1972, however, I observed one silversmith in Tashqurghan melting old Russian gold coins in order to make finger-rings.

Gold is also bought from goldwashers coming down to Tashqurghan from the rivers of Badakshan to sell the precious metal. Silver sheets are cut with plate-shears called *kaychi*.

When the silversmith wants to make silver thread (if he does not buy it as it is) for earrings, chains, and other ornaments the basic material is often broken silver objects or coins. These are first melted together in the *bouta*. After that the casting is poured into the *redja* to be shaped into a rod. The rod is beaten with a hammer on the anvil, put into the fire after a few minute's hammering, brought back again to the anvil, a few more minute's hammering, back to the fire etc. several times until it has become a long thin rod. After that the silversmith uses a steel plate with several holes of different sizes, *simkash*. First the rod is drawn through the biggest hole and then through all the others till it becomes as thin as thread. When making silver thread the plate is held by the feet and the silver is drawn with the hands and a tong.

Silver thread is also made on a special bench, *kunde simkashi*, operating in the same way as the *simkash*.

The decoration of silver thread and finer rods is done in a special thread-matrice which like the *qaleb* has a design stamped on it. The thread is placed in the hollow of the matrice and beaten with a hammer. When a thread is decorated the design always consists of simple geometric symbols.

The silver ornaments are cleaned by being boiled in water and put into bowls with acid. Sometimes they are also smeared with grease. The finished silver ornaments are often put in a small

show-case made of wood and glass, *anwari*, which stands like a shop-window outside the workshops.¹

Gold objects are seldom shown like this, not so much because of their value, but because they are mainly made on request. This is not generally the case with silver ornaments. As gold is an expensive metal the silversmiths seldom make golden ornaments that have not been ordered. Especially among the Turcmans there used to be a rich tradition of gilded jewellery mostly with inlaid agates. Pure silver ornaments are more common than gilded ones.

The price of gold is fairly high in Afghanistan compared with international prices. A piece of gold worth approximately 15 U.S. dollars costs in Tashqurghan approximately 26 U.S. dollars.

The silversmiths of Tashqurghan are facing a dark future. After two/three years of severe drought and an extremely hard winter in 1972 nobody can afford to buy their products. They earn very little money and their social status is depreciating. During the cold months of February and March 1972 most of their shops were closed because they did not have any work to do and only a few silversmiths were working, but not selling very much.

Division of labour exists to some extent among the silversmiths. They follow a system referred to as *ujura*, meaning that some silversmiths make semi-manufactures (for example *tauwiz*-covers) which they sell per piece to other silversmiths in the bazaar who finish them and display them for sale.

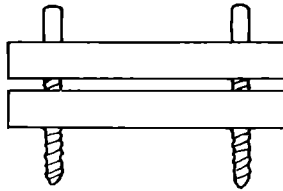
Thus all the silver ornaments are hand-made and there is as yet no tendency at all towards machine-made products. There is, however, a tendency to make simpler ornaments without the traditional skilled decorations, to use glass instead of stones and to use cheap metals and bad silver. One can clearly see the beginning of a degeneration in the products mostly because of tourists and lack of money among the local people. Among the nomads the situation is pitiful. Many nomad women can't afford to keep their old pieces of beautiful jewellery and are forced to sell them to the antique-dealers in the big towns. As a substitute they buy cheap ornaments and plastic beads. The Turcmans are facing the same situation being forced to sell their heavy silver and gold ornaments. As the situation for the nomads (and other groups) tends to deteriorate this state of affairs is bound to continue. With tourism comes the idea of quick money-making and this will surely have effects on traditional crafts.

But in many parts of the country the old craftsmanship still exists as it has done for centuries and the old tradition will continue so long as time is worthless and labour cheap and so long as the craft can be conducted with love and solicitude. But is it doubtful if this situation can continue in a country just facing the 20th century.

Comparing my own account on silversmiths with MARKOWSKI's one clearly sees how little has changed during the forty years which lie between my own study and his classical survey on the material culture of the Kabul-district:

Die Werkstätten sind nur halb so gross wie die übrigen Bazarläden. Zum Erhitzen des Metalls ist in einem Lehmklumpen eine keine Vertiefung angebracht, in die von der Seite ein Loch mündet, das für Luftzufuhr sorgt. Als Brennmaterial werden ebenfalls Holzkohlen benutzt. Ein ca. 60 cm langes, kupfernes Blasrohr mit einer kleinen Scheibe am

¹ Cf. MARKOWSKI, p. 144; DUPAIGNE, Fig. 36.



Vice

Mundstück ersetzt den Blasebalg. An Handwerkszeug ist fast unglaublich wenig vorhanden; es erschöpft sich in der Regel in ein bis zwei kleinen Zngen, Hämmern, kleinen Feilen, einem kurzen stumpfen Messer zum Schaben des Metalls, einer Goldwaage und einem Stein zum Prüfen des Goldgehaltes. Zur Herstellung der immer gleichbleibenden Verzierungen werden in Stahl geschnittene Stempel benutzt, die grösstenteils ebenfalls in Kabul hergestellt werden. Das erhitzte Metall wird auf diese heraufgelest und mit einem Hammer hineingeschlagen. Es wird mit demselben Material gelötet, aus dem der Gegenstand hergestellt ist, indem ein kleines Plättchen davon an der Lötstelle festgebunden und das ganze Stück über dem Feuer mit Hilfe des Blasrohres erhitzt wird. Das Plättchen schmilzt schneller als das zu lö-tende Metall, wodurch die Verbindung hergestellt ist, bevor es sich durch die Hitze verändert.

Zu den Silberarbeiten wird fast ausschliesslich nur aus Indien eingeführtes Barrensilber verwendet, da die afghanischen Münzen zu wenig Silber enthalten. Der Preis des Schmuckes ist jedoch gleich der Summe der Münzen, die dasselbe Gewicht haben, wozu noch ein Aufgeld für die Arbeit berechnet wird. Zum Goldschmuck wird sowohl Barren- wie Münzgold verwendet. In der Regel muss man es selber liefern. Der Preis für Goldarbeiten beträgt pro Miskal Gewicht des Schmuckes eine halbe bis eine Rupie (pp. 144-145).

There is one engraver, *murkan*, in Tashqurghan who shares *kalanthar* with the silversmiths, with whom he also partly co-operates. Almost all men wear small silver or brass rings on which their names are engraved; the rings serve as a seal instead of a signature for illiterates.

The rings are made by the silversmiths or bought directly from the engraver who also keeps a small stock of cheap brass rings. The silversmiths do not do engraving themselves but send their customers to the *murkan* who charges from 10 afghanis depending on the amount of text to be engraved.

Besides engraving rings the *murkan* also engraves ordinary seals, metal plates, as well as quotations from the Koran on various objects. While engraving the *murkan* uses a type of adjustable wooden vice in which he fastens the object while working on it with a small hammer, a small chisel and a metal file. When the object is ready he checks the engraving with a mirror.

The wooden vice is about 50 cm long, the chisel 8 cm and the head of the hammer 6 cm.

The engraver also supplies the stamps for the seals which are made of brass and bought ready-made from Kabul. An ordinary seal is about 3 cm high and with a diameter of about 2,5 cm.

In Tashqurghan there are no specialized calligraphers, *khattat*, (except a few application-writers, *mirza*), and no specialized sign-painters, *lawhanivis*.

Most of the painted signs seen in Tashqurghan are bought from Mazar-e Sharif and the heavily painted metal plates used as decoration on lorries and buses are either made in Kabul or bought from Peshawar and Lahore in Pakistan.

The Blacksmith

In the bazaar of Tashqurghan there is a large section occupied by blacksmiths, who work in the same part of the bazaar as the woodturners and ironmongers, called Black/Wood Street or more precisely *raste aingeri* (Nr 2 on the sketch-map p. 26), which is a long, narrow, open manufacturing street.

The blacksmiths constitute one of the largest groups of craftsmen in the entire bazaar and on Black/Wood Street itself there are 48 blacksmith's shops and to this can be added 15–20 more blacksmith's shops scattered all over the Central Town Bazaar.

In a rural society like Tashqurghan the blacksmiths are very important as they chiefly supply all the farmers in the district with almost all their tools and implements.¹

The present *kalanthar* of the blacksmiths is Mohammad Safar (BW 20), and before him the position was held for ten years by Abdul Aziz (BW 2), who retired from his task recently.

The blacksmiths, *aingar*, are divided into nine categories depending on what kind of articles they manufacture. These categories, collectively referred to as *aingar*, are:

1. Knifsmiths, *kardsaz*;
2. spadesmiths, *belsaz*;
3. mattocksmiths, *teshasaz*;
4. locksmiths, *qulfsaz*;
5. pocket-knifsmiths, *tjakusaz*;
6. needlesmiths, *jualduzsaz*;
7. repairing smiths, *maydakarsaz*;
8. nail-makers, *mekhhchagar*; and
9. farriers, *ualsaz*.

These categories are not absolute but rather flexible in the sense that a locksmith for example, might very well make a knife or execute a repair job, or a knifsmith could equally well make a mattock. The blacksmiths do not usually sign their products but sometimes some of them put a small geometrical mark as a signature on the items they manufacture.

The spadesmiths are considered to have highest social standing among all the blacksmiths because they earn the most money.

As already mentioned in the chapter "The Craftsmen" there are technically several sub-groups among the blacksmiths. Each shop is run by a *ustad*. He can be the only *ustad* of the shop or have partners, often brothers who hold the position of *khalifa*. Each shop has one or more *chagirds* who are unpaid but receive free food, clothes, sometimes housing and a small amount of pocket-money, (usually 5–10 afghanis per week), for a period of ten years. After the *chagird*-period they are considered skilled enough to become *ustads/khalifas* and if they wish and can afford to they can open

¹ Agricultural implements are described among others by CHARPENTIER (The use of Haschish ..., and Hait Qul Baj ...) and by HUMLUM (p. 190 et seq.).



Tashqurghan: A blacksmith (*belsaz*) and his *chagird* working on a spade on the *sofa* outside his workshop in Black/Wood Street.

shops of their own or remain as partners or employees. Finally, there is a group of hammermen who work together with the blacksmiths. These are usually not related to the shopkeepers they are working for. The hammermen receive cash payment from the *ustads*; for so-called “easy jobs” at a locksmith’s shop a hammerman receives a daily payment of 20 afghanis and for so-called “hard jobs” in the shop of a spademaker he receives 50 afghanis daily.

In all, in the 48 shops on Black/Wood Street approximately 188 people are at work. (The figures can vary from time to time.) Of these 68 are *ustads/khalifas*, 15 are hammermen and 105 are *chagirds*. The blacksmiths prefer sons or relatives as *chagirds* and of the total number of *chagirds* (105), 57 are sons, 11 are relatives and 37 are not related to the shopkeepers where they are working. The craft used to be hereditary but today only 17 of the 48 *ustads* come from blacksmiths’ families.

All of the blacksmiths are Tajiks and Uzbaks and the two ethnical groups intermarry frequently.

Only some of the blacksmiths own their shops (i.e. the localities), most rent them. The monthly rent for a blacksmith’s shop ranges from 50 to 100 afghanis, and a large part of the bazaar is privately owned.

The average monthly turnover in a blacksmith’s shop is approximately 15 000 afghanis and the average net income for a skilled *ustad* is approximately 100 afghanis per day.

A few more financial facts:

A blacksmith can make 20 large *kabab*-spits a day, each selling for about 30 afghanis; five locksmiths working together can make 30 simple tube-locks a day, and each lock is sold for approximately 25 afghanis; a good knife is made in three to four hours and sells for 30 to 100 afghanis; a spadesmith can make 6 to 8 spades a day, each selling for about 120 afghanis; a fox-trap takes about two hours to make and is sold for about 80 afghanis.

Fire-arms are sometimes manufactured locally; a single-barreled rifle (made from the steering column of a car) takes about three weeks to make and costs 1 200–1 300 afghanis; an automatic pistol takes one month to make and costs about 1 500 afghanis.

The taxation is fairly low, but complicated. The local government classifies the blacksmiths' shops into four groups depending on the amount of money invested in the shop and its capacity and each group pays its own tax-rate. All other shops, both manufacturing and selling, are classified in the same manner in three or four groups. The tax itself is then divided for each shop in the whole bazaar into seven categories and some of them are based on the monthly shop rent. If a blacksmith or other craftsman/seller owns his shop this type of tax is based on his neighbour's shop rent.

The following table shows the total amount of tax paid by a blacksmith with a monthly shop rent of 100 afghanis and whose shop is classified in the first group, i.e. the highest tax-paying group:

1. *Kraiachai* — 100 afghanis/year
2. *Jawaznama* — 40 afghanis/year
3. *Safai* — 50 afghanis/year
4. *Babecheraq* (*babatcheraqi*) — 50 afghanis/year
5. *Maliebaraidat* (*maliat-e baraidat*) — 120 afghanis/year
6. *Ehzarnama* — 100 afghanis/year
7. *Sukuk* — 6 afghanis/year

Tax categories 1–4 are paid to the mayor's office, i.e. to the local government or Municipality.

Tax categories 5–7 are paid to representatives of The Ministry of Finance, i.e. to the Afghan Government.

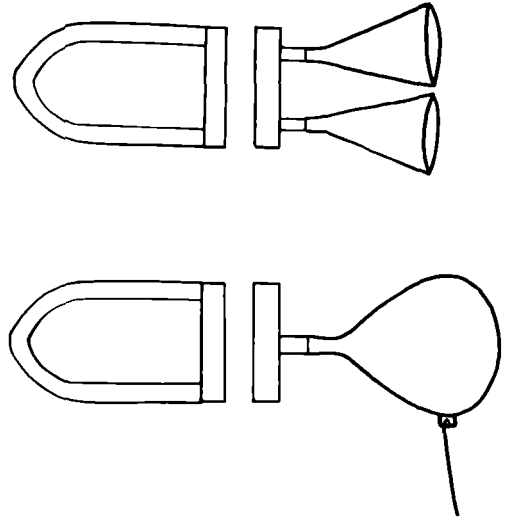
Category 3 is based on half a month's shop rent; category 6 is based on a full month's shop rent; and, category 7 is based on 5% of the fifth category.

As a rule selling-shops pay higher tax than manufacturing-shops. A few more examples:

The *pathragar* is the lowest tax-paying craft. His *jawaznama* is, depending on which group he is classed in, 5, 10 or 15 afghanis per year. The blacksmiths pay *jawaznama* 20, 30 or 40 afghanis per year; coppersmiths 10, 20 or 40 afghanis per year.

Of the sellers the highest *jawaznama* is paid by the almond traders ranging from 3 000, 2 000, 1 000 to 350 afghanis per year; the *bazaz* pay 300, 200, 100 or 50 afghanis per year in *jawaznama* and the rice-sellers 50, 40 or 20 afghanis per year in *jawaznama*.

Complete patterns of taxation for all types of shops and every single craft were not possible to obtain, but they all follow the basic pattern described above, with small variations.



Dam-e mashki
Dam-e kash

All the shopkeepers/blacksmiths on Black/Wood Street are married and have one wife with the exception of two blacksmiths who have two wives each.

The blacksmiths of Tashqurghan are naturally mostly manufacturers but they can be counted as combined manufacturers and sellers as well. Their products are sold thus:

Directly to local consumers from the work-shop; to the local ironmongers, *khordafrus*, *en masse* who sell the blacksmith's products retail with a small profit on each item; and to Tashqurghani and non-Tashqurghani traders who buy their products *en masse* and sell directly or via ironmongers all over Afghanistan.

These three different types of selling lead to three basic ways of production:

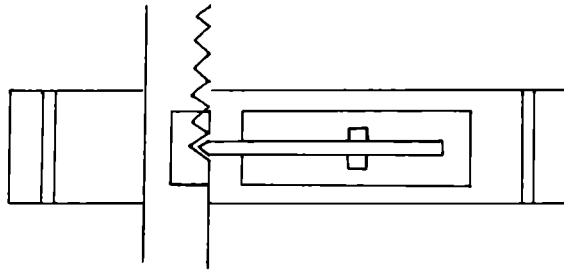
1. Small scale production of certain items by order from local consumers.
2. Production on a larger scale by order from the traders.
3. Continuous production without previous order of such items constantly in demand by local consumers.

In addition most of the blacksmiths also undertake repairs of various iron items.

Among their most important products can be noted: Awls, nails, ordinary knives, pocket-knives, knives for special purposes, razors, ordinary scissors, scissors for sheep-shearing, plough-shares, spades, shovels, spits, chains, horseshoes, tongs, axes, hammers, picks, hoes, mattocks, saws, sickles, various types of mountings for animals, furniture, doors, etc., tube-locks, mouse-traps, traps for fox, rabbit deer, hare, wolf, tiger, etc., and iron house-hold items.

The blacksmiths manufacture two types of spades, ordinary ones, *bel*, and the traditional Afghan two-man spade, *anja*, used for making irrigation channels.¹

¹ Vide HIRSCHBERG: JANATA, pp. 253-254 and fig. 219.



“Dandanakashi-e ara”

The raw material is bought from outside Tashqurghan, often through the the ironmongers, or taken from old metal pieces melted together. Very often old parts from bicycles, cars, etc., are worked on and re-used as well as old metal files and worn out tools. Knives and scissors are very often made from old foreign metal files, tube-locks from the frames of old bicycles and rifles from the steering column of old crashed cars. The iron is worked with big hammers by the *ustad* or his hammermen and the pieces are hardened by being quickly put into water. While hammering on iron the hammerman/*ustad* very often stands in a cavity in the ground to get a better working position on the anvil. A big bowl of water is always placed close to the anvil and the hearth. The hearth, *kura*, is operated by charcoal, *zoghāl*, from pine which is collected and made by special coalers, *zoghalkash*, in the surroundings of Tashqurghan. The price of charcoal is 100 afghanis for three *sers*¹ and it is sold in the charcoal-*saray* (Nr 21 on the sketch-map, p. 26). Very few use mineral coal. The hearth is connected via a funnel to either a pair of leather bellows or a metal construction having the same purpose. There are four basic types of bellows all collectively referred to as *dam*.

Dam-e mashki consists of two huge expanding leather bags with one side open and with a wooden handle or framework. The two leather bags are operated by hand.

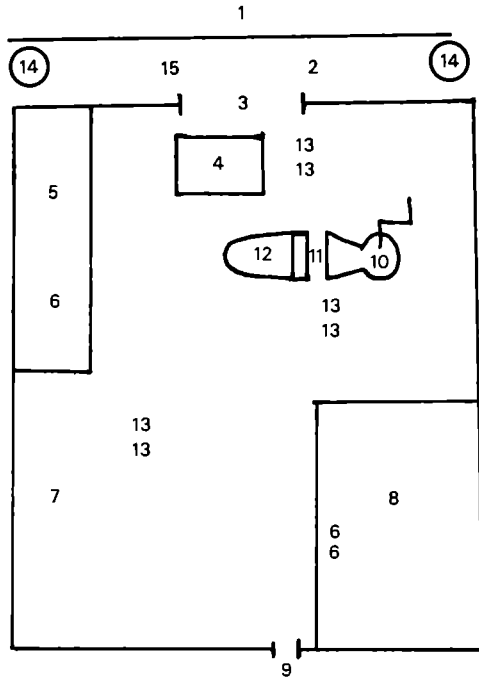
Dam-e kash consists of a pair of wooden boards joined by flexible leather sides, with a valve through which air enters when the boards are moved apart, and a tube through which air is forced as they are brought together. This type has a rope or a chain attached which is fastened in the roof of the workshop and operated by pulling a connected handle.

Dam-e charkhi dakhili is a metal construction rotated by a bicycle wheel connected to a fan, *paka*, which drives a strong blast of air into the fire.

Dam-e pakistani is a mechanical metal ventilator imported, as the name indicates, from Pakistan. They exist in different sizes and the average price for a *dam-e pakistani* is about 600 afghanis. This type seems to replace all the other more traditional types of bellows, especially the leather ones, which are manufactured locally by the shoemakers. All *dams* are operated by hand and this is the job of the *chagird* while the *ustad* forges and heats the piece of iron, which he holds with a big metal tong, *ambur*.

The ready-made products are sharpened on a grindstone as well as on smaller whetters. Knives

¹ Afghan weights and measures are] described by BOGDANOV, pp. 419-435.



A blacksmith's workshop

1. Street. 2. Space under roof for outdoor-working, *sofa*. 3. Entrance to workshop. 4. Cavity for hammerman. 5. Bench with tools. 6. Vices. 7. Supply of iron. 8. Supply of charcoal and store for working clothes. 9. Small back door. 10. *Dam* (metal; Pakistani). 11. *Kura*. 12. Small cavity in the floor for keeping charcoal. 13. Anvils. 14. Pillars, *sutum*. 15. *Kunda*.

are sharpened on a *takhtakharak*, a sort of wooden bench where the knife to be sharpened is fastened and worked upon with a whetter.

The grindstone consists of a flat stone mounted on an axle lying on two wooden poles, *mil*, which is brought to rotation by means of pulling a leather strip, *tasm*. This job is also carried out by the *chagird*. This type of grindstone is called *charkh*.¹

In winter-time most of the work is done inside the shops (the average size of a shop, *dokan*, is 6 × 3 m) but during the warm months of summer and autumn almost all the blacksmiths work outdoors in front of their workshops on a small "shelf", *sofa*, which is under roof and lies about 20–50 cm above street-level. On the *sofa* there are attached wooden poles where the various implement such as *charkh* can be fastened.

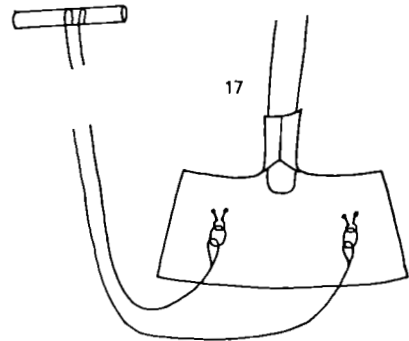
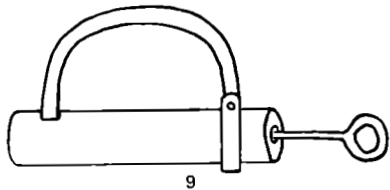
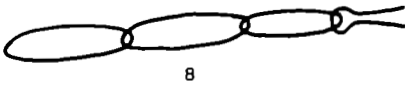
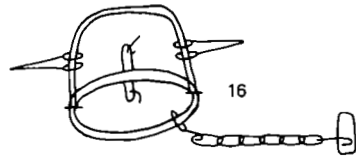
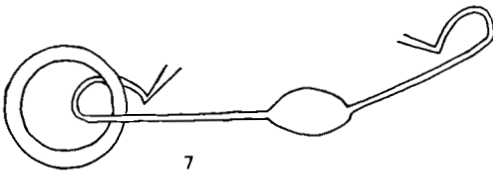
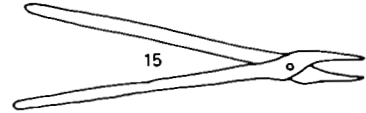
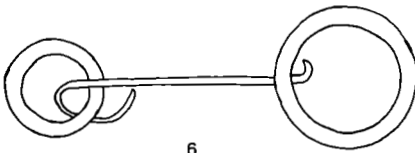
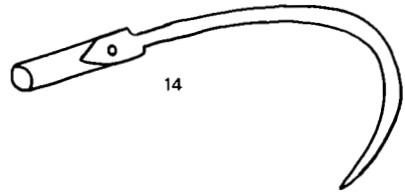
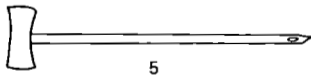
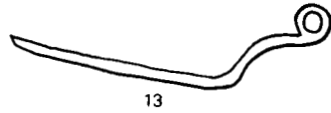
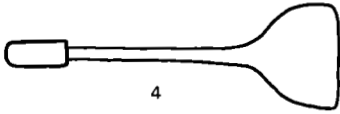
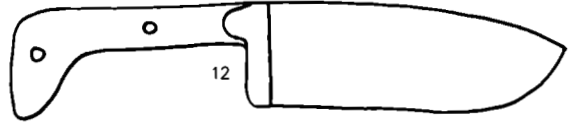
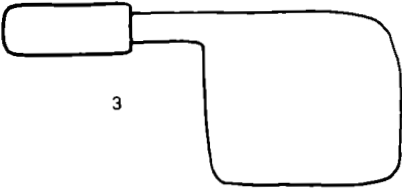
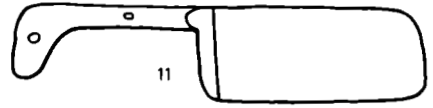
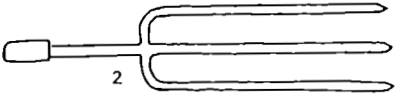
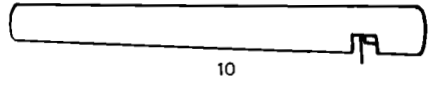
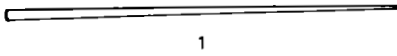
Saws are made by some of the blacksmiths using a locally invented implement called "*dandana-kashi-e ara*", in which the teeth of the saw are made by pressing down a specially shaped metal-bar through the saw-to-be.

¹ Vide SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 178.

The implement consists of a large piece of wood with a hollow in the middle, a sharp metal bar which fits to a metal shape. Afterwards the teeth of the saw are sharpened with a metal file.

The most important tools of the blacksmith are: Large anvils, *sangdan*, several hammers and sledges, *tjakush*, *khaesk-e sepav*, *bolqa*, various tongs, *ambur*, chisels, *ainqalam*, borers, *barma*, pokers, *sikli-e kura*, awls, *suma*, *zersuma*. The farriers use a special knife for cutting the hoofs, *sontarash*.

1. Ordinary spit for *kabab*-making; approximate length 40 cm. Price 10 afghanis.
2. Large spit for *kabab*-making with turned lacquered wooden handle; approximate length 60 cm. Price 30 afghanis.
3. Butcher's knife for cutting meat; turned lacquered wooden handle; approximate length 25 cm. Price 50 afghanis.
4. Knife mainly used for scratching butter out of churns, transportation sacks, etc.; turned lacquered wooden handle; approximate length 40 cm. Price 30 afghanis.
5. Saddlemaker's needle with wooden handle. The needle itself is 25 cm in length and has a hole in the end for the thread. The needle is also used for sewing coarse cloth and similar materials. Price 5 afghanis.
6. Mountings for horses and donkeys made of two metal rings with a turnable metal piece connecting them. Total length 12 cm. Price 4 afghanis.
7. Mountings for camels consisting of one metal ring and a bit. total length 15 cm; price 4 afghanis a pair.
8. Lock-chain used for locking doors, etc. At the end of the chain is attached a ring with two nails which is driven into the door; a similar ring with nails is driven into the frame-work of the door. This ring is then connected to the free end of the chain and closed with a padlock. Total length of chain itself 20 cm, the two rings with nails are 10 cm each. Price 4 afghanis.
9. Padlock (tube-lock) made out of the frame of an old bicycle; key made out of an old screw. Length 8 cm. Price 25 afghanis.
10. Opium-knife, *nashtar*, for cutting poppies. Made of wood with seven small razor-sharp blades inserted. Length 12 cm. Price 50 afghanis.
11. Opium knife used for scratching away the opium from the poppy after it has been cut with the *nashtar*. Extremely sharp and very thin blade, ferrule of brass and wooden handle. Total length 17 cm. Price 100 afghanis.
12. Knife, "Tashqurghani-model". The blade is quite thick and broad; wooden handle and ferrule of brass with simple decoration. Length of blade 16 cm, of handle 12 cm. The handle is also made by the blacksmith while the sheath of leather is manufactured by the local leatherworkers. Price complete with sheath, 35 afghanis.
13. Scissors for sheep-shearing. Two blades are attached together by means of a small wooden peg, but the implement itself is entirely made of steel. Very often old files are sharpened and used for this purpose. Total length 38 cm. Price 130 afghanis.
14. Sickle with wooden handle. Length of handle 17 cm; the blade is 15 cm to the angle, and the actual sickle-blade which is sharpened, 17 cm. Price 15 afghanis.
15. Tong. Length 30 cm. Price 80 afghanis.
16. Fox-trap. The trap consists of an iron ring with an inner diameter of 10 cm serving as the bottom; two semi-circular bows attached to the bottom-ring and the two shackles, each of 11 cm. The bottom of the trap is covered with cloth and the ring is connected to a 25 cm long chain terminating in a piece of wood which is buried in the ground when the trap is set. Price 80 afghanis.
17. Two-man spade. Total length about 170 cm. Price from 150 afghanis.





Tashqurghan: *Khalifa* and *chagird* operating the *charkh* on the *sofa* outside a workshop in Black/Wood Street.

The different workshops frequently co-operate. They borrow tools from each other, use each other's workshops every now and then and sometimes each other's *chagirds*, or work together on a joint project.

A good example is the blacksmith *ustad* Yaqub, BW 12. Yaqub, who is a locksmith, is about 40 years old. He has three brothers who are all blacksmiths, Mohammad Azim, Mohammad Hakim and Mohammad Hashim. Yaqub has one wife, one daughter and three sons, Hobaidullah, Hamidullah and Naim. Naim, who is about ten years old, goes to *madrassa* and helps his father in his spare time. All three sons are going to be blacksmiths when they grow up. The brothers Mohammad Hakim and Mohammad Azim are both married and the third brother Mohammad Hashim is engaged to be married. All the brothers were *chagirds* in their uncle's shop. Yaqub rents shop BW 12 and his brothers rent shop BW 47. Almost daily they all work together in each other's shop and they all live together and share the income from both shops. They live together in an extended family and their wives make cotton-cloth and embroider caps, which are sold in the Tim of Tashqurghan. Sometimes two "extra-*chagirds*" help them in both shops, Samad, whose father is a shoemaker and a very good friend of Yaqub and Ibrahim, whose father is a farmer and Yaqub's cousin.



Tashqurghan: Blacksmith (*ustad*) working on a sickle outside his workshop on Black/Wood Street. A *chagird* assists him with the bellows.

Besides lock-making the two shops also repair metal objects, and occasionally make arms and knives for opium manufacturing. There are two knives used for this latter purpose, a *nashtar* and a scratch-knife. (See p. 83.)

Yaqub said that previously he made 10–20 *nashtar* a day during the poppy harvest but after the ban on opium, *teriak*, he only makes 10–20 *nashtar* per year. *Nashtar* and scratch-knives are not kept in stock and are only made to order. The two shops also make various traps ranging in size from rabbit to tiger traps.

Yaqub's blacksmith family is typical and a great number of the other shops on Black/Wood Street work in the same way with close co-operation between shops, extended family living, and shared income.

Most shops have more or less the same interior. The sketch on p. 81 represents shop BW 47 but is also valid as a general sketch of the workshops on Black/Wood Street.

The shop lacks windows and is approx. 3×5 m. Like all the shops on Black/Wood Street it faces the street and has a small space under the roof for outdoor working in front of the shop. No special heating is used in the shop during winter except sometimes a small open fire. Some of the blacksmith's tools hang on the walls on hooks together with finished products.



Tashqurghan: Abdul Aziz, ex-*kalauthar* of the blacksmiths, using his "*dandanakashi-e ara*".

The blacksmiths seem to be one of the most prosperous craft-groups in all Tashqurghan. They are always busy and have lots of work to do, most of their shops are running all the year and compared to other craftsmen they have a reasonable income. From the large number of *chagirds* future blacksmiths will be recruited and there seems to be no decline in the craft for three main reasons; Iron implements will always be in demand; the Tashqurghani-made items are of good quality;

and finally the blacksmiths of Tashqurghan can very often manufacture their products cheaper than the imported goods. The products from the blacksmith's bazaar are sold all over Afghanistan, and Tashqurghani metal objects can be bought in every province.

The blacksmiths of Tashqurghan share their *kalanthar* with the bicycle repairers, *baysikelsaz*, and the ironmongers, *khordafrus*. The ironmongers sell mostly locally made products (which they buy from the blacksmiths and on which they make a profit) but also imported metal-ware such as tools. Some of the ironmongers supply the local blacksmiths with (part) of their raw material, going to Kabul, where they buy old metal junk which they re-sell in Tashqurghan. In Tashqurghan there are ten ironmongers altogether.

The blacksmiths work in a traditional way. Little has been changed in their craft and there is still no tendency towards modernization.

The following passage from MARKOWSKI is a good example of how the blacksmiths work and compared to the situation today time seems to have more or less been standing still during the last four decades:

Eine größere Tätigkeit ist in der Schmiede des Werkzeugschmieds zu beobachten. Seine Werkstatt ist meistens ein Raum von der doppelten Größe der sonst üblichen Bazarläden. Die Feuerstelle und der Blasebalg liegen an der Hinterwand zu ebener Erde. Um den in der Mitte in derselben Ebene stehenden Amboß herum befinden sich mehrere ca. 60 cm tiefe Gruben, in denen die die Zuschlaghammer führenden Gesellen stehen. Das ist eins der wenigen Handwerke, welches eine stehende Arbeitsverrichtung verlangt. Der Meister, „kalifa“, hält das glühende Eisen mit einer Greifzange und bezeichnet durch einen leichten Schlag mit einem kleinen Hammer die zu schmiedende Stelle, auf die die Gesellen der Reihe nach mit schweren Hämmern schlagen. Das fertig geschmiedete Stück wird durch plötzliche Abkühlung im Wasser gehärtet. Es werden in der Hauptsache eiserne Spaten, Holzäxte, Hämmer, Zangen und zum Teil auch Beschläge für landwirtschaftliche Geräte hergestellt. Das verwandte Material ist meistens altes, mehrfach durchgeschmiedetes Eisen, das bei der schlechten Durcharbeitung minderwertiges, leicht brüchiges Gerät liefert. Doch wird in Kabul auch viel aus Indien eingeführtes Eisen in Stabform verschmiedet (p. 143).

The Coppersmith

Formerly most household requisites were made of copper. Today the situation has changed in favour of modern imported products as they are cheaper and sometimes easier to handle than the old traditional types. Modern china has replaced the old metal plates, Duralux glasses have challenged cups of metal, plastic jugs are easier to carry and Japanese bowls more suitable for keeping food in. Besides imported household requisites the coppersmiths are also challenged by local craftsmen who manufacture traditional objects but of materials cheaper than copper (white metal, clay, etc.). It is naturally a question of money as well; imported plastic and glass products as well as locally manufactured objects of white metal and clay are much cheaper to buy than pieces of copper often decorated with beautiful designs. The entry into the 20th century leaves little room for craftsmanship and traditional objects.

But there are still many coppersmiths left in Afghanistan carrying out their ancient craft with tenderness and perfection. Whether this trade will be able to survive in a modern world is doubtful, however.

In Tashqurghan there are today (1972) 23 coppersmiths, *mesgar*, and combined coppersmiths / jobbing-smiths, *halabi saz*, working on the covered Copper Street, *raste misgeri*. In addition there are 5 combined coppersmiths/jobbing-smiths working on Rope Street and also a few working in private houses outside the Central Town Bazaar. The situation today can be compared with that of five years ago when there were about 50 coppersmiths and only 3 jobbing-smiths in Tashqurghan, showing a clear decline in the craft, which once was one of the most prosperous.

Most of the coppersmiths consider themselves as Tajiks, but about one third of them are Uzbaks. They are all married, with one wife each, and most of them are related to each other.

They follow the same type of taxation as the blacksmiths, but their mode of production is different.

Today there are no traders buying *en masse* from them as in the past and they only produce:

- A) items which are constantly in demand by the local population, and
- B) items made to order.

Another difference from the blacksmiths is that while the blacksmiths both supply townsmen / villagers and craftsmen with implements the coppersmiths only supply townsmen/villagers and no craftsmen with the exception of the silversmiths to which they manufacture blowpipes and the potters to which they sell copper oxide.

Formerly, traders bought their products, mostly water-jugs, *en masse* and copper jugs from Tashqurghan were sold in almost every bazaar all over Afghan Turkestan, but this situation has changed within the last decade.

Most of the coppersmiths have one to three *chagirds*, preferably relatives, and the *chagird*-period can be up to ten years. During that time the *chagird* receives free clothes, food, sometimes lodging and some pocket-money ranging from 5-10 afghanis per week. As a rule the coppersmiths in Tashqurghan have no *khalifas* or employees and the *ustad* is the only trained craftsman in each shop. The coppersmiths share their *kalanthar* with the jobbing-smiths.

Besides the *halabi-saz*-work, which is treated in a special chapter following this, by far the most important product of the coppersmiths today is the water-jug of which there are several types and sizes.

These jugs, used for water and for ritual washing, etc., are collectively known as *aftawa* and exist in four basic shapes: *Urgenji* or *Khulmi*, *Kabuli* or *Afghan*, *Jermani* and *Peshawri*. Today the coppersmiths manufacture mainly two basic types of *aftawa*, a jug with a lid, and a jug without a lid.

Besides a great variety of water-jugs the coppersmiths manufacture portable wash-stands, *lagan*; tea-pots, *tjaijus*; ladles for various purposes, *rogbandaq*, *kafgir*, *malaqa*, pitchers, *satelcha*; soup-bowls, *shurbakhori*; plates, *palawkhori*; small jugs to be used in the toilet, *dolicha*; cups, household items for the storing and preparation of food, water-pipes, *chilam*; trays, *samovars* (very seldom nowadays), etc.



Tashqurghan: A coppersmith in his workshop on Copper Street.

A kind of division of labour can be observed in Copper Street. The coppersmiths on one side of the street specialize in making chiefly various kinds of water-jugs and portable wash-stands, whereas those working on the other side, manufacture mainly smaller jugs and tea-pots.

Earlier, when the coppersmiths were busier they followed a *ujura*-system similar to that of the silversmiths but today this division of labour has ceased to operate. SCHUYLER (1876) describes the *ujura*-system among the coppersmiths in Tashkent thus:



Tashqurghan: A coppersmith and his products on Copper Street.

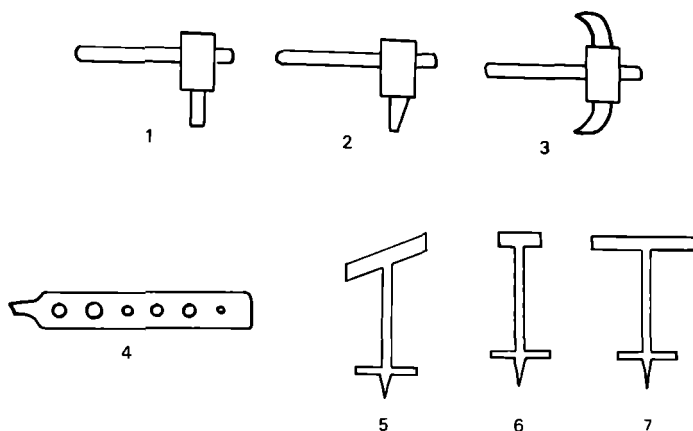
Here, as elsewhere, the manufacture is divided into several branches, one shop making nothing but the bottom of the ewers, another soldering them on, another producing the handles, another the covers, while others are occupied in chiselling the ornamentation on the sides. (Vol. I, p. 177.)

Like the silversmiths the coppersmiths work in the actual workshop or seated on pillows on the *sofa* in front of their shops. Almost all products are sold by weight, *ba tuli*, and the average price for copper products varies from 55–90 afghanis per *pau* (16 *pau* = 1 *ser*).

Most of the items are tinned by the coppersmith in his workshop and the tin as well as the raw copper is bought from Kabul being mostly imported from Pakistan and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The tinning is done in the following way:

1. Ammonium chloride is heated on the fire.
2. If the object which is going to be tinned is too oxidized it is cleaned with $\text{Ca}(\text{OH})_2$ or HCl and sand.
3. The copper object is heated on the fire.



Some of the coppersmith's implements.

1-3. The hammers are made of iron and have wooden handles; each hammer is 30-35 cm in total length. 4. *Qaleb-mekh* 30 cm long and made of iron. 5-7. The anvils are made of steel and fastened into the floor of the workshop. Simplified profile sketch; only the upper part of the anvil is different in the three types.

4. The coppersmith rubs a piece of cotton soaked with ammonium chloride on the object.
5. Small amounts of tin are put on the warm copper object.
6. The tin is rubbed on to the copper with a piece of cloth containing ammonium chloride.¹

The price of tin is 200 afghanis per *pau*; copper-sheet costs approximately 48 afghanis per *pau*, and, ammonium chloride 20 afghanis per *pau*.

The coppersmith also tins/re-tins objects for his customers, a large perforated ladle for example costs 10 afghanis to be tinned.

The most important tools of the coppersmith are:

Several ordinary hammers, a large pair of scissors, *qaychi*; measures, *parkal*; files, *suwan*; tongs, *alqa ambur*; pincers, *amburcha*; awls, *suma*; chisels, *qalam*; a wooden hammer, *tjakush che chubi*; three special hammers *tjarsu* (1) for working inside the object and on curves; *nimdasti* (2) which is larger than the *tjarsu*; and, *nimrakh* (3) for making folds; for fittings, an implement called *qaleb-mekh* (4) is used; three special anvils are also used, *tashchini* (5), *kachmai* (6), and *dubini* (7), as well as the ordinary anvils, *sangdan*, used, among others, by the silversmiths.

For heating he uses a hearth with charcoal connected to a pair of leather bellows or metal construction of the same type as used by the blacksmiths, and a blow-pipe, *pofak*.

Most of the coppersmiths come from copper-smithing families. Two typical examples are the families of Gholam Sarwar, C 12, and Hadji Abdur Rahman, C 7.

¹ Tinning of copper is described by GRAY, pp. 71-72.

Gholam Sarwar, 69 years old, is the seventh generation of coppersmiths. The forefathers of Gholam Sarwar and Hadji Abdur Rahman came from Bochara to Tashqurghan about 1200, according to the lunar calendar, and they were the first two coppersmiths in Tashqurghan. Gholam Sarwar has one wife, two daughters and two sons, 20 and 30 years old, who are also coppersmiths. He has several grandsons and he wants them to become coppersmiths too. One of his grandsons works as a *chagird* in his shop.

Gholam Sarwar started as a *chagird* when he was five years old, he is illiterate and has never attended school. His two sons on the other hand are both literate and have been to school. His dream is to go on *hadj* (pilgrimage) to The Holy Mecca but he thinks that he will never be able to afford it. In Afghanistan he has visited Andkhoi, Mazar-e Sharif, Kabul and Kandahar.

He also does tinning and mentioning production he told me that he could make four small simple water-jugs of copper in one day, each selling for 100 afghanis. "The problem is just to find customers", he added.

In the family of Hadji Abdur Rahman there are also seven generations of coppersmiths.¹ Hadji Abdur Rahman is also illiterate and one of the esteemed non-literate poets of Tashqurghan. His forefathers, together with those of Gholam Sarwar, built the Coppersmith's Mosque in Tashqurghan in 1208 according to the lunar calendar (= 1789-1790 A.D.).

I was told that there are three or four coppersmiths in all in Tashqurghan with the same kind of family record as Gholam Sarwar and Hadji Abdur Rahman.

The story of the coppersmiths of Tashqurghan is the story of poverty and decline. Three years ago (1968-1969) and earlier the average net income for a coppersmith was about 4000 afghanis per month, i.e. higher than the average net income of the blacksmiths today. Then came the drought which lasted for two-three years, followed by the severe winter of 1972 and an increase in the import of cheap household articles, leaving the coppersmiths more or less without work. Nowadays people in general can't afford to buy copper articles and it is very common for people to sell their old copper utensils in order to obtain money and buy cheaper items of white metal, aluminium, clay and plastic. Earlier the coppersmiths made artistic decorations on almost every item but nowadays they don't as nobody can pay the price asked for a decorated copper utensil. The coppersmiths say that they would prefer to do artistic work as they did before, and that they do not like to do merely "simple things in order to survive" (field-note). Formerly some of them moulded in bronze, particularly hooks, handles and *samovar*-taps but now they have completely stopped this craft.

Their craft is slowly dying out. Today a coppersmith is happy if he can make a monthly net income of 1 000 afghanis and many coppersmiths give up their old trade because they can't survive. Some go into business and petty trading, others turn their skill to *halabi saz* and junk-craft which is slightly degrading for a skilled coppersmith. But they have no choice as there is no longer a

¹ Hadji Abdur Rahman knows the names of his ancestors:
Coppersmith Hadji Ismael, born in Bochara, emigrated to
Tashqurghan and died in Egypt.
Coppersmith Sufi Baba Kata
Coppersmith Baba Sufi

Coppersmith Hadji Khairullah
Coppersmith Hadji Ramatullah
Coppersmith Habibullah and his brother coppersmith
Hadji Abdur Rahman
Coppersmith Naqibullah, son of coppersmith Habibullah.



Antique decorated tinned copper plate. (Collection : C-J. Charpentier.)

future in coppersmithing when people have so little money and can buy cheaper imported goods of other material. In the coppersmith's bazaar of Tashqurghan, where no artistic work is done any more, bitterness is rife.

"We are the last coppersmiths in Afghanistan", says Gholam Sarwar; "there will be *halabi saz*, junk-craft and plastic traders, but no more coppersmiths. Our craft is dead and it makes me sad to know that I am one of the last in an old and rich tradition" (field-note). And he is probably right.

No brass-work is manufactured in the bazaar of Tashqurghan and the traditional ewers made elsewhere in Turkestan (Bokhara, Tashkent, Samarkand, etc.) have as far as I know never been manufactured in Tashqurghan.

These traditional Turkestani brass ewers are famous for their beauty but also very expensive which probably is one of the reasons why they were/are not manufactured in Tashqurghan.

SCHUYLER describes them thus:

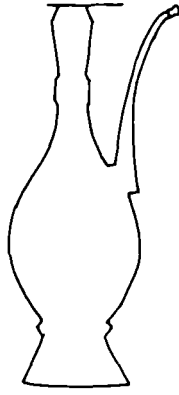
But they manufacture in great numbers the native tea-pots and ewers (*kumgan*), usually of very graceful shapes, and often of very delicate workmanship, being covered with fine ornament cut with a chisel; sometimes portions of the surface are covered with a thin coating of tin, which is chiselled so as to show the decorations in two metals. (Vol. I, p. 177; vide etiam MOSER, photo p. 152 and fig. p. 442.)



Tashqurghan: Handwashing before a meal. Portable wash-stand and jug of tinned copper.

The reasons why copper was used are easily found. The metal is very easy to shape and it doesn't oxidize as quickly as other metals. Because of the dangers involved in keeping water and food in copper utensils (vide note to p. 96) most of the articles are tinned. The traditional copper objects were tinned and decorated in the following way. The copper article is heated over the charcoal fire until it is almost glowing. Borax is then smeared on the object. Small pieces of tin are rubbed against the copper object causing them to fasten on it. The decorations previously made in the copper don't become tinned and get from the heat a blackish appearance. The decorations, geometrical patterns, flowers, Koranic devices, etc., are punched in the metal with chisels and hammers, knives and stamps.

The copper used is mostly imported sheets and the working on the metal is mainly done with wooden hammers. The prepared pieces which are going to be soldered are bound together and on the edges to be soldered small pieces of thin copper are placed and after that worked on the fire with a blow-pipe until they have melted. Several objects used to be manufactured by the copper-smiths, such as cups, bowls, water-pipes, water-jugs for ritual washing, oil lamps, plates, kitchen requisites, wash-stands, begging bowls, stirrups, spurs, various ornaments, pots, cans, etc., all highly decorated. Nicely decorated cups were formerly used for drinking water and sherbets but these are almost entirely out of use today. The following example elucidates a typical situation:



a. Water-jug

Water-jug of tinned copper used mostly for washing.

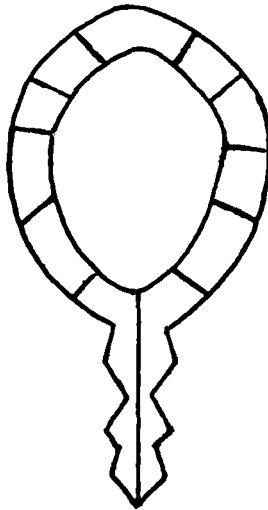
Size: Total height 35 cm; "top-cover" diameter 7,5 cm; bottom diameter 12 cm. volume: 1,7 l.

Sold by weight.

Weight: 550 g. Price: 150 afs.

Very simple scratched decoration. More elaborately decorated water-jugs are not manufactured nowadays in Tashqurghan.

The copper-smiths of Tashqurghan make two types of water-jugs: (called by themselves) "The Turcoman type" and "The Afghan type". The "Afghan type" has a lid, a detail which is lacking in the "Turcoman type" (above), which has an open neck with a simple brass ornament. Both types are made by the same coppersmiths and in various sizes.



b. "Top-cover"

"Top-cover" of a water-jug; made of brass or copper and soldered to the jug. Natural size.

In May 1970 I bought a very nice and heavily decorated cup manufactured in Herat at the end of the last century. The price was 200 afghanis. In Kabul I showed this cup to one of my informants who is also one of my closest friends. His reaction was typical: "A few years ago we used cups like that in our house but now we have thrown them away. They are not modern. Nowadays we use



Water-jug

Water-jug of copper, *not* tinned, used for boiling and keeping water (sic).

Size: Total height 19,5 cm; bottom diameter 9,5 cm.

Volume: 0,65 l.

Sold by weight.

Weight 350 g. Price 100 afghanis.

No decoration. Handle made of a solid copper bar riveted onto the jug. Formerly, the handles used to be artistically moulded.

This type of jug is made in several sizes.

Tea-water is often boiled in this type of non-tinned jug. The jug with water is simply put on the fire and allowed to boil. As far as I know this type is never used for ritual washing. On asking why they used non-tinned jugs for water the answer was—"it doesn't matter, nobody ever gets harmed from drinking out of pure copper"! (field-note).

glasses from Duralex. You bloody foreigners just run around and buy a lot of junk" (field-note).

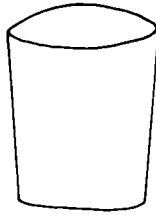
The decor can be made in several ways. The two main techniques once employed were:

1. Making very small dots with a chisel in the metal and combining the dots into ornaments, and,
2. carving the design with a sharp object.

Cups vary in size, from approximately 10 to 25 cm in height. They can also be made of brass or cheap so-called "white metal". Metal bowls were usually made in two different shapes, the "water-bowl" and the "cash-bowl". The "water-bowl" is usually low and wide, with or without a low base. They are, as are most of the copper products, tinned and decorated. "Water-bowls" were used for storing food and water and for eating purposes. Sizes vary from approximately 5 cm high and 12 cm in diameter to approximately 10 to 25 cm. The base is between 5 mm to 3 cm high.

The "cash-bowl" was formerly used by the shopkeepers to keep money in, but it is very seldom in use nowadays. (I have, however, observed the traditional "cash-bowl" in use a few times; in March 1972 I noticed an old raisin-seller in Kabul using this type of bowl but this must be considered as an exception.) They seldom have a base. The average "cash-bowl" is approximately 11 cm high and with a diameter of approximately 15 cm. "Water-bowls" sometimes have metal lids but "cash-bowls" have not, as far as I know.

The traditional plates are always round with a small depression in the middle and are chiefly tinned. Sizes vary of course, but an average diameter seems to be approximately 20 to 25 cm. Bowls for alms used by beggars and *dervishes* which were carried with a string under the arm are as common in plain copper as in tinned. They vary in size from approximately 15 cm in



Cup

Cup of tinned copper (both inside and outside is tinned).

Size: Height 8,5 cm; upper diameter 7,5 cm; lower diameter 6,5 cm.

Volume: 0,35 l.

Sold by weight.

Weight: 175 g.

Price: 40 afs.

Cups exist in many different sizes though the size mentioned above seems to be the one most common in Tashqurghan. Nowadays cups are very seldom decorated as they were earlier.

length and 5 cm in height up to approximately 30×12 cm. Many of them are also made of kalcbass.

Water-pipes can be of two different types, single neck pipes and double neck pipes. The average height is approximately 25–30 cm and they nearly always have a low base.

Water-jugs are used for several purposes: as a container for drinking water and other liquids; as a container for washing water; and finally, for ritual washing. The average height varies between approximately 25 and 50 cm. Metal water-jugs (as well as water-pipes) are still widely in use all over Afghanistan. They are nowadays manufactured mostly from cheap white metal, clay or ceramic. Some are still made of copper but almost always without any decorations. The portable wash-stand is still very common outside Kabul. It is used in restaurants, tea-houses and private homes. Before and after a meal the wash-stand is used for handwashing (photo p. 94).¹ It consists of a metal basin covered with a lid with holes and surrounded by rims. The hands are held over the



Perforated ladle

Perforated ladle of tinned copper.

Size: The whole implement is 42 cm long and the ladle blade itself has a diameter of 10,5 cm and is slightly concave.

Sold by weight. Weight: 350 g. Price: 50 afs.

The perforated ladle has a very simple design consisting of a few scratched circles and lines and a simple ornamentation punched on the handle by means of a *qaleb*.

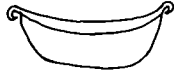
¹ Traditional handwashing has among others been described by ELPHINSTONE, p. 236 and SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 177.



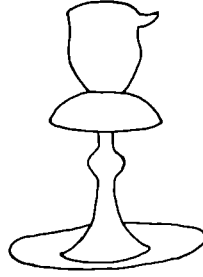
1. Water-jug



2. Water-jug



3. Bowl for alms



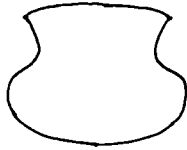
4. Oil-lamp



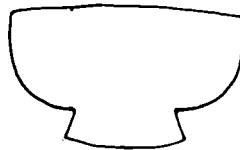
5. Single neck water-pipe



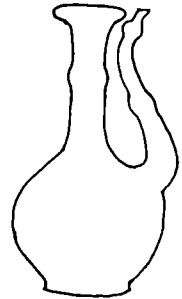
6. Double neck water-pipe



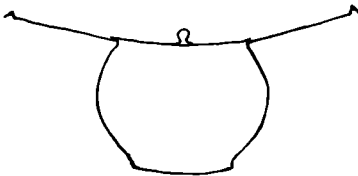
7. "Cash-bowl"



8. "Water-bowl"



9. Water-jug



10. Profile of portable wash-stand

Basic sketch of some objects usually made of copper.

1. Water-jug. 2. Water-jug. 3. Bowl for alms. 4. Oil-lamp. 5. Single neck water-pipe. 6. Double neck water-pipe. 7. "Cash-bowl". 8. "Water-bowl". 9. Water-jug. 10. Profile of portable wash-stand.

basin and water is poured over them from a jug. The waste water disappears under the lid. The average portable wash-stand has approximately the following measurements: Total height 10,5 cm; upper diameter 28,5 cm; bottom diameter 14 cm; diameter of basin 17,5 cm, and depth of basin 8,5 cm.

The traditional oil-lamps, which are not so much in use today, have an average height between approximately 35 to 50 cm.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter the traditional craft of copper-working is disappearing in today's Afghanistan. Today the coppersmiths are mostly employed in mending broken copper objects and when manufacturing make almost solely different types of water-jugs. Cheap materials are more and more frequently substituted for copper and the original craft is dying out.

This situation was pointed out some 45 years ago by MARKOWSKI in his classical study:

Die Kunstfertigkeit ist jedoch seit 40 Jahren zurückgegangen ... Dieser Rückgang scheint seine Ursache in der Verarmung der Bevölkerung zu haben, die die wertvoll verzierten Sachen nicht mehr bezahlen kann. Da ausserdem noch die auf ihrer Tradition fussenden Kupferschmiede es nicht lassen konnten, auch die notwendigsten Dinge des täglichen Gebrauchs wertvoll zu verzieren, machte sich bald ein Mangel an diesen Gegenständen bemerkbar, und die Einfuhr billiger Nachahmungen wurde immer stärker ... (p. 144).

The truth of MARKOWSKI's statement is clearly observed today when Afghanistan is losing yet another of its traditional crafts. A similar statement was made by MOHN who remarks that there is little decoration on the copper objects today (p. 350).

The preceding pictures and drawings show some of the copper products manufactured in the bazaar of Tashqurghan today as well as the basic shapes of some objects no longer manufactured.

The Jobbing-Smith

It is almost impossible to make clear distinctions between the jobbing-smith and his colleagues the coppersmith and the "junk craftsman". In many cases they do the same types of job and their fields of work and often their basic material are interrelated. There are, however, some clearly recognized jobbing-smiths.

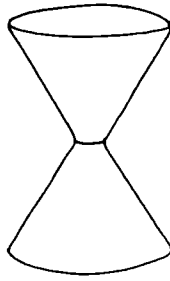
Jobbing-smiths, *halabi saz*, can be classified in the following categories:

- a) Combined jobbing and coppersmiths (often coppersmiths, who for financial reasons have extended their craft; it should be noted that several jobbing-smiths are, in fact, ex-coppersmiths).
- b) Jobbing-smiths working exclusively with new material.
- c) Jobbing-smiths working exclusively with old (used) material.
- d) Jobbing-smiths using both new and old material.
- e) Various groups of specialized jobbing-smiths chiefly producing only one type of product.

The words new material refer to brand new white metal sheets, *tunuka*, and old material to used metal sheets which are worked on and re-used as well as old food tins, kerosene containers and various used metal packings.

In Tashqurghan all the jobbing-smiths are ex-coppersmiths who have changed their old profession, or combined jobbing and coppersmiths, but most of them, no matter to which category they belong, still call themselves coppersmiths and have the same *kalanthar* as the coppersmiths.

All categories of jobbing-smiths are represented in Tashqurghan but they are not yet so numerous as the genuine coppersmiths. Today there are at least 10 jobbing-smiths in Tashqurghan; five



Spittoon of white metal; height approximately 14 cm.

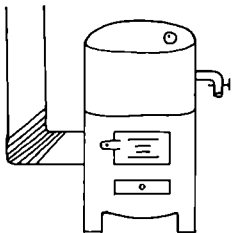
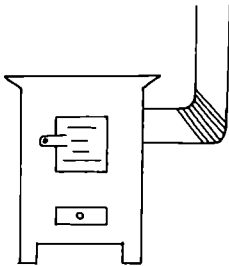
years ago they were only three. Most of them work on Copper Street and some in other parts of the Central Town Bazaar.

Their main products are *bokharis*, *manqals*, various other types of stoves, some with attached water-boiling containers, funnels, house-hold implements, jugs, cups, spittoons, *samovars*, and any other objects possible to make out of white metal sheets and/or used metal.

The jobbing-smiths' products are mainly cheap alternative products to the more expensive ones made out of copper.

The jugs and other similar objects made by the jobbing-smiths are more or less exact copies of traditional copper utensils manufactured by the coppersmiths.

One type of specialized jobbing-smith is the *bokhari*-maker. They are mostly found in the major towns and I haven't seen any real *bokhari*-maker in Tashqurghan. They are, however, quite numerous in Kabul. Some of them use simple imported machines in their work. There are two basic



Ordinary *bokhari* for heating rooms.

Combined *bokhari* used both for heating rooms and water.

types of *bokharis*, one for heating rooms and one for both heating rooms and boiling water. A large *bokhari* complete with funnels costs approximately 450 afghanis.

Another specialized group of jobbing-smiths, though not found in Tashqurghan, are the metal suitcase-makers, who make suitcases and transportation boxes out of white metal sheets. These suitcases are very popular and appear in all sizes. A case of $100 \times 40 \times 25$ cm costs about 100 afghanis, depending on its quality.

The jobbing-smith uses the same type of tools as the coppersmith with the addition of one special implement called *nay*, a large metal bar mounted in a wooden construction, which is used for making funnels for the *bokharis*, and similar objects.

In Tashqurghan the jobbing-smith's products are only sold to local consumers.

The jobbing-smiths are not, as one might think, a new group of craftsmen. There have been jobbing-smiths in Afghanistan for at least fifty years, and they were already observed by FURON (1926, p. 91), MOHN (p. 351) and MARKOWSKI:

Weniger kunstvoll sind die Erzeugnisse der Schlosser, die mit den Klempnern zusammen genannt werden müssen, weil eine vollkommene Trennung beider Berufe hier nicht möglich ist. Beide fertigen, wenn Nachfrage vorhanden ist, dieselben Gegenstände an und verwenden dann dazu dasselbe Material, nämlich das Weissblech der Petroleum- und Benzinkannen. alle Fast Erzeugnisse des Kupferschmiedgewerbes werden von ihnen aus diesem Material nachgeahmt. Den grössten Absatz haben die an Blechbüchsen der verschiedensten Grössen, blechernen Pumpen zum Herauspumpen von Petroleum und Benzin und Handlaternen für Kerzenbeleuchtung, die Kopien unserer alten Stallaternen sind. Seit der Anwesenheit der Europäer im Lande ist vom Beginn der kalten Jahreszeit ab und den ganzen Winter hindurch ihre Hauptbeschäftigung, Blechöfen für Holzfeuerung herzustellen.

Da das Material sehr billig ist (Die alten Petroleum- und Benzinkannen sind ein begehrter Handelsartikel. Sie kosten nach dem Grade der Beschädigung eine bis einhalb Rupien pro Stück), das ganze Handwekzeug sich in Hammer, Zange, Blechschere und einem Stück Eisenscheine als Amboss erschöpft und es bei dem grossen Nachahmungstalent der Afghanen den meisten nicht schwer fällt, derartige Dinge anzufertigen, gehört es zu den am stärksten vertretenen Gewerben, zumal der Absatz ihrer stets gefragten Produkte der Billigkeit wegen immer gut ist (pp. 146-147).

MARKOWSKI's mentioning of the re-use of old products leads us directly to another kind of craft, which in a way is related to the *halabi saz*, namely, "the junk-craft". A section on this type of craft follows directly after this chapter.

Some Notes on "Junk-Craft"

A special type of craft which could be referred to as "junk-craft" has developed in Afghanistan during this century. The basic material is, as the name indicates, various sorts of junk.

However strange it may sound very few things are thrown away in Afghanistan. Most of the things which we throw away in the western world are kept, worked on and re-used. Out of foreign waste products a new handicraft has been invented.

The aim of this chapter is to give a few examples showing how junk can be used and made to function anew.

Junk-craft exists almost all over Afghanistan, but mostly in Kabul. In Tashqurghan there are no proper "junk-craftsmen" as there are in Kabul but some of the *halabi saz* manufacture objects out



A special section in the bazaar area close to the river in Kabul is used by a group of craftsmen who work with used tires. On the photo can be seen buckets made out of tires, hanging outside the work-shops.

of junk, mostly empty food tins. A lot of junk products are however used in Tashqurghan but most of these are brought from Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif.

In the chapter on shoes I mentioned that soles are made out of old tires (p. 119) and in the previous chapter that the *halabi saz* often use old metal cans etc. in their craft. But there are other things made out of junk and I shall describe some of them here.

Besides soles, buckets for carrying water are another important product made out of old tires, and the manufacturing centre for these products is situated in Kabul close to the river, not very far from Pul-e Khisti. The buckets are sold all over the country together with other items such as rubber-ropes and rubber-straps used for various purposes. The *halabi saz* manufactures cups and pitchers out of old cans, together with funnels, *bokharis*, *manqals*, various mountings and other household articles. As a rule these objects made out of metal junk preserve the traditional shapes of the originals from which they are copied. A junk speciality found almost all over Tashqurghan is the door, which needs an explanation. Tashqurghan has only recently obtained electricity, in a very limited number of houses, so the means of lighting commonly used is by imported Russian kerosene, which is burned in small metal and glass lamps in every house. During the last decades one can well imagine that the import of kerosene must have been immense. The kerosene is imported

in large blue cans with a white painted text saying "Kerosene Made in USSR". The kerosene-sellers, *tel-e khakfrus*, sell the empty cans to the *halabi saz* and out of the empty cans doors for the houses are made. If one walks around in the housing area of Tashqurghan it is quite a fantastic experience to observe that almost every mud-brick house has a blue metal door on which is written "Kerosene Made in USSR"!

Another "junk-article" manufactured all over the country and widely used is the paper-bag, made out of old books which are cut into sheets and glued together. If you go to a candy-seller to buy some sweets you may have them served in a small paper-bag made out of lesson one in "Afghan Learns English"!

All over the country there are special sections of the bazaars which trade solely in junk which can be re-used. In Kabul for example, there are sellers specializing in empty whisky bottles, empty glass jars once used for medicine, and almost every imaginable object which can be used for a new purpose. The "junk-craftsmen" buy their raw material from these shops, and the same also furnish the housewives directly with empty tins which they can use in their homes mostly for storing spices.

The Woodworker

There are several different crafts in Afghanistan which could collectively be referred to as "wood-working" but when in this book I use the slightly misleading term "woodworker" I only refer to wood-turners and not to any other category of woodworkers, these being given other terms.

The first section of this chapter deals mainly with the woodworkers of Tashqurghan; the succeeding section gives a short description of other kinds of wood-working both in Tashqurghan and other places in Afghanistan.

Due to the lack of forests capable of being utilised yet for timber and owing to the difficulties in transportation, wood is quite expensive in Afghanistan. The number of craftsmen working with wood is not so numerous as in other fields of handicraft.

Besides the wood-turning which will be treated on the following pages wood is also used for the following purposes: Housebuilding and construction, heating, furniture, implements, etc.

Wood-work from Tashqurghan has a great reputation all over Afghanistan and in the bazaar at Tashqurghan the old craft is carried out with love, skill and perfection. Tashqurghan has gained its reputation mostly from specimens of turned and brightly laquered wood used for various purposes.¹

The implement used is a primitive lathe called *kharati*, which is operated by hand.² The *kharati* is portable and is removed from the floor when not in use giving the *ustad* more space in his workshop for other types of work.

¹ Very little is written about the wood-turning of Tashqurghan. DUPAIGNE has a very short description on this subject on p. 77 of his article.

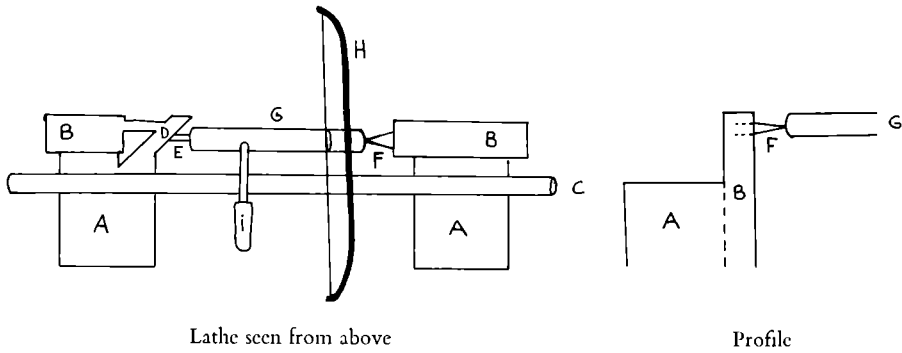
² Exactly the same type of lathe is described by MARKOWSKI, who mentions that the turners still work in the same way as their forefathers (pp. 140-141). See also HIRSCHBERG-JANATA, p. 113.



Tashqurghan: A turner in his workshop on Black/Wood Street.

The sketch on the following page shows its construction.

The lathe consists of the following parts: The whole lathe is placed directly on the floor of the workshop. Two large thick wooden supports (a) are placed on the floor and often attached to it with some kind of nails. Big stones are often placed on the two supports to hold them down more securely. The two supports end in two minor pieces of rectangular-shaped wood (b) which lie a



Lathe seen from above

Profile

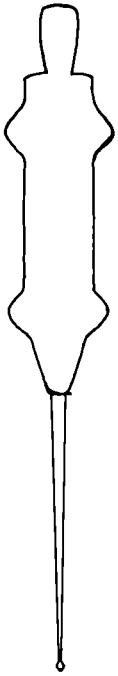
few centimetres above the ground and are higher than the floor-supports. Over the two supports (a) lies a long and very heavy iron bar, *peshkar*, (c), which has two functions, pressing down the supports and supporting the mortise-chisel (i). To part b is attached on one side an adjustable block of wood (d) ending in an iron bar with one sharp end (e) working as a support for the piece of wood worked upon (g). The other support (b) is permanent and not adjustable and ends in a piece of iron or steel shaped as a cone (f). A piece of wood (g) is placed between e and f. The piece of wood is rotated with a bow (h), *kaman*, made of wood and goat tendons, *ze*.

The craftsman, *kharat*, sits on the ground holding the bow with one hand and the mortise-chisel with the other, together with his feet. He pulls the bow back and forth, presses the mortise-chisel with the other hand and directs it to the rotating wood with his feet. While he is working an apprentice removes the shavings from the floor so that the turner can work undisturbed. He uses two main types of chisels, *matena* and *nawa*, one flat and one convex, of different sizes. Besides the chisels the turner uses the following implements: Large wooden files, breast drill and large borers, a special kind of borer operated with a *kaman* called *barma* (p. 106), various tongs, large scissors, several planes of various types, *randa*, *darazranda*, *randaqul*, *randepalang*, *randesini* (I have only seen locally manufactured planes of hard wood and a simple plane-iron, and no imported metal planes in Tashqurghan), several types of saws mostly locally made, *ara*, *aradusar*, large and small axes used for shaping the pieces of wood for the lathe, *iskana*, large metal clamps, pots for making glue in, etc.

Most of the finished products are lacquered in bright colours, mostly red, yellow, green and black.

The colours are imported as powder from India and Pakistan but mixed and prepared locally by the turners, who buy it from the *banjaras*. First pieces of imported lac (often from Kashmir) are melted on the fire in a special jug. When the lac is liquid the powder colours are mixed into the lac. When the right shade has been found the liquid colour is poured into a wooden mould where it is left to harden into long rods. The objects are also painted in the *kharati*. A bed-post for example is inserted between the two metal pieces e and f and is slowly rotated. The colouring is made in three steps:

1. The turner rotates the *kharati* with the *kaman* while he presses the rod of colour firmly against the rotating piece of wood.



Barma

Made of iron and very hard wood from Badakshan.
Total length of implement 29 cm.

2. After this step the turner continues to rotate the *kharati* while he presses a stick of datewood against the freshly coloured wooden piece to bind the colour by pressing it into the wood.
3. Finally the turner rotates the *kharati* and polishes the wooden object with a piece of soft cloth.

Among the most important products from Tashqurghan's turners can be mentioned:

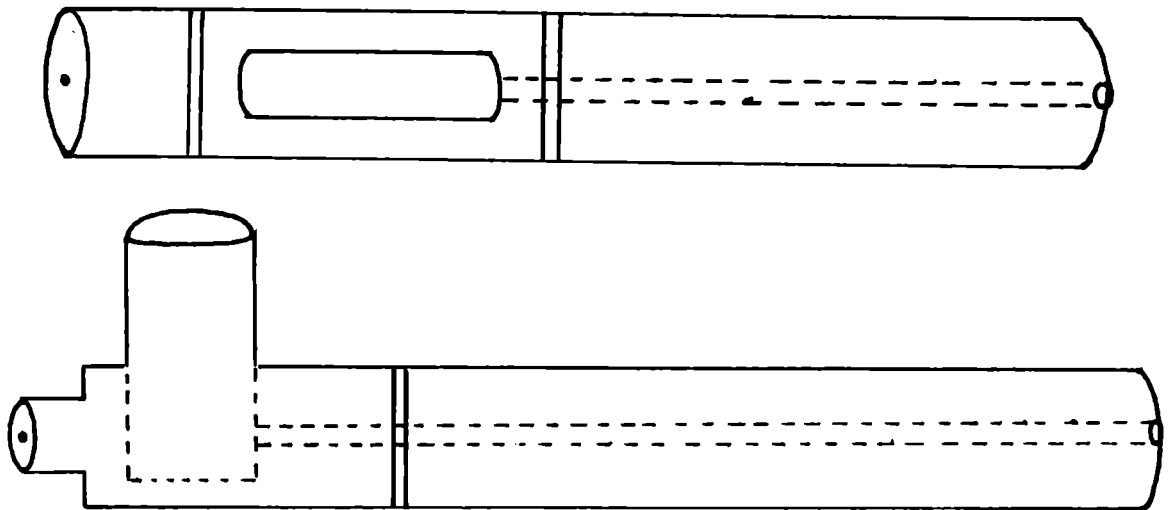
Different poles and rods, bed-posts, chair-legs, small chairs, infant cradles, *gawara*¹ (an infant cradle takes two to two and a half days to make and is sold by the turner for 200 afghanis), various handles for every imaginable type of tool and implement, catapults/slingshots for playing and bird shooting, various toys such as rattles, simple cars and lorries, wooden toys making a sound when rotating, simple wood constructions on wheels used as aids in teaching children to walk, *payrawanak*, small carriages, etc, coat hangers, *kotband*, reels and spindles, catheters, *shumak*, household implements, implements used for spinning and weaving, etc.

Most of the woodworkers are located on Black/Wood Street using the same basic types of shops as the blacksmiths. Some woodworkers are also scattered in the Central Town Bazaar and some work at home in their houses.

Their mode of selling and production follow the same pattern as the blacksmith's (see page 79). Most of the woodworkers call themselves Tajiks but about one third of them are Uzbaks and the shops

¹ A picture of a Tashqurghani-type cradle is found in SJOBERG p. 91; a brightly coloured cradle was seen in a bazaar in northern Afghanistan already by WOOD p. 156.

The same type of cradle is displayed in the ethnographical department of the National Museum of Copenhagen.



Catheters for infants, *shumak*, are manufactured by the woodworkers who also sell them as well as the *banjaras* and *atars*.

The catheters are made of wood and approx. 18 cm long and with a diameter of approximately 18 mm.

In the bottom of the cradle there is a hole and when the infant is asleep, wrapped in cloth, the catheter is attached to the genital organ and led out through the hole to the ground, where the urine is collected in a small bowl. Diapers are not known.

Similar catheters are displayed in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, Democratic Republic of Germany; those catheters, also made of wood, are from Kurdistan, the boys' being exactly the same type as the Afghan, the girls' slightly different. Afghan catheters are further displayed in the ethnographical department of the National Museum in Copenhagen.

consist of *ustad*, *khalifas* and *chagirds*. They have the same system of taxation as the blacksmiths (see page 78).

In all there are approximately 54 persons employed in the woodworking-shops on Black/Wood Street proper (the figure can vary from time to time). There are 20 shops and 20 *ustads* who are also the shopkeepers. Altogether there are four brothers working as *khalifas* and the total number of *chagirds* is 30. Of these *chagirds* 19 are sons, one is a relative and ten are non-relatives to the different *ustads* for whom they work. Of the 20 *ustads* eight had fathers who were also woodworkers.

The average income for a *ustad* is approximately 100 afghanis per day and a paid assistant receives 1 200 afghanis monthly. Sons are always unpaid and receive free board at home. The *chagird* period can be up to ten years and the *chagird* receives free clothes, food, sometimes lodging and pocket-money.

The *ustads* prefer relatives as *chagirds* and *khalifas* but if they have no suitable son or relative they take non-relatives having some connection with the family. All the woodworkers on Black/Wood Street are married and have one wife each with the exception of Akhbar who has two wives, BW 67.

The type of wood generally used is willow and pine and if harder wood is required they "import" it from Badakshan.

Together with the blacksmiths the woodworkers are one of the most prosperous craft-groups in Tashqurghan. Their shops are running the whole year and their products are sold all over Afghanistan and are held in high esteem among the Afghans. All types of woodworkers share *ka-lanthar*.

Other types of woodwork

The woodworkers who are not turners can be divided briefly into carpenters, makers of agricultural implements and residence-constructors.¹

The carpenters, *najar*, manufacture doors for houses and yurts, window-frames, chests (mostly in Maimana), donkey and horse saddles, furniture, and *sandalis*. The *sandali* is a very important type of "heater" which consists of a $1 \times 1 \frac{1}{2} \times 1 \frac{1}{2}$ or $1 \times 2 \times 1 \frac{1}{2}$ m table standing on four legs. Each of its sides are open and only the top is covered. In the middle of the *sandali* a *manqal* is put in which the charcoal is placed. The top of the *sandali* is covered with a big quilt filled with cotton and on the four sides thickly filled cotton mattresses are also put. When the *sandali* is burning people sit and lie around it with pillows and enjoy the heat.²

Today probably most of the carpenters are engaged in the making of furniture from foreign models such as tables, chairs, beds, desks, arm-chairs, cupboards etc. The tools used are today mostly imported from The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and The People's Republic of China but some of them are still locally manufactured. The most important tools are axes of different sizes for cutting big pieces of wood, hammers, foxtail-saws, planes, chisels, borers, rasps, tongs, square-rules, etc.

A more traditional type of furniture, used all over Afghanistan, is also manufactured by the carpenters and known as *charpoi*-work. The most common *charpoi* furniture are beds and chairs made of a construction of turned wood with a special type of wicker-work used as the bottom of the bedstead and as chair seats (see chapter on wicker-work). The *charpoi* furniture is very light to carry and quite cheap. A *charpoi* armchair costs about 100 afghanis and a *charpoi* bed about 70 afghanis. They are seldom painted and have rarely any decoration.

In northern Afghanistan, though not in Tashqurghan, wooden frameworks for yurts are manufactured.

A description of yurts with excellent photographs from Aqcha is found in DUPAIGNE (1968) who also gives an account of some basic yurt types.

In Shibargan yurt frameworks are manufactured privately in the *qislaks* and taken into town for selling on market days. There are no permanent yurt-making shops in the bazaar of Shibargan, whereas there are at least a dozen carpenters who mainly manufacture doors, window-frames and saddles.

Makers of agricultural implements are found all over Afghanistan and most of them are engaged in making agricultural implements of wood. This group of craftsmen are called *najari delhqani*. Their craft is on the decline because most of the farmers try to make the implements themselves. The wooden implements used in agriculture are mostly sold during harvest-time.

¹ An account of woodwork is found in MARKOWSKI, pp. 139-140.

² An early description of a *sandali* is found in MASSON vol. 2, pp. 271-273.



Jalalabad: A carpenter making agricultural implements and his *chagird*. (From left to right: Various poles, wooden yokes, small poles for tying animals, stays for spades, wooden forks, a churning-stick, etc.)

The most common types of wooden implements are:

Big wooden forks with 3, 4 or 5 blades used for winnowing, storing, etc., and up to 200 cm in total length. They are mostly called *charchi*.

Steering-gear for wooden ploughs, *kadji*.

Wooden yokes, *joh*, used on oxen when plowing and poles used for tying oxen and other animals, *mekh*.

Stays for spades, *takak-e bel*.

Wooden shovels, *rashbel*.

Various handles.

Churning-sticks, *mandanu*.

Wheelbarrows, *ghaltakzambel*.

Artistic wood-carving is nowadays almost totally absent. During my stays in Afghanistan I have never seen any wood-carvers and only the remains of their skilled craft are left to be studied. This old craft seems extinct, with but few exceptions, this being due to the tourists' desire of obtaining badly-made copies of Kafiristani effigies, etc.

This condition was already pointed out by MARKOWSKI:

Die Holzschnitzerei, die noch im vorigen Jahrzehnt in hoher Blüte stand, wie alte Schnitzereien zeigen, ist fast vollkommen aus Kabul verschwunden. Ich habe in der ganzen Zeit meines dreijährigen Aufenthaltes keinen einzigen Holzschnitzer auftreiben können (p. 140).

The Wickerworker

Wickerwork is an important article in the daily Afghan life and most of the Afghans have a lot of wickerwork in their houses.

In general the mode of production of wickerwork in Afghanistan can be said to follow two patterns:

- a) Large scale producers selling *en masse* to traders
- b) Small scale producers selling their own products together with items bought from the large scale producers.

In Jalalabad for example, there are extremely few wickerworkers but quite a lot of wickerwork sellers, all buying their merchandise from large scale producers in Paktia, transporting their goods by trucks, lorries and camel to Jalalabad.

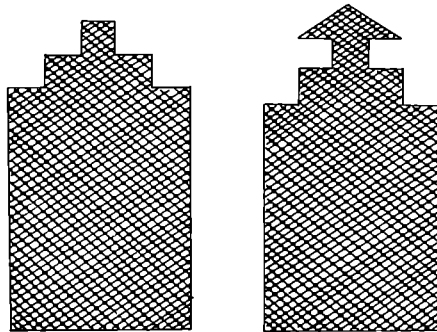
The 7 wickerworkers in Tashqurghan (all having their shops in *bazaar-e birun*) mainly follow the production pattern classified as b with a combined selling and making of their own products on a small scale and a large sale of imported products.

The wickerworker, i.e. the craftsman, is called *boryabaf*, the workshop *boryabafi* and the seller *boryafrus*. The raw material, called *pata*, is a type of wicker.

The craftsmen work almost entirely without tools and all the products are made by hand.

The two most important products sold are wicker carpets, *borya*, for covering floors and *jainamaz*, used as prayer rugs. All wicker carpets are sold per square metre.

They also sell a large number of various baskets, hats, bags, fans, *paka*, of two types, the first for cooling humans, the second used when making *kabab*, brooms, *jarub*, coarse meshed packing and transportation nets, *taranga*, which are adapted under carriages, muzzles, *puzband*, for camels, oxen,



Wicker carpets

donkeys and dogs, various sorts of coarse-fibred ropes, and finally ropes for making *charpoi*, *mundicharpoi*, of several dimensions, which is the only type of wickerwork sold by weight with a price ranging from 20 to 80 afghanis per *ser*, depending on the dimension of the rope. Thick *charpoi* ropes are used for beds and thin ones for chairs and armchairs (cf. p. 108).

They also sell large trays often used by street-vendors and carried on the head, *sabat*, and *tabang*, sieves, *ghalbel*, cages for birds, *qafas*, and *zambel*, a large transportation basket carried like a stretcher by two persons. Most of the wickerworkers' products are bought from Paktia via Kabul but some also come from a village called Boryabaf situated on the steppe between the (towns) of Balkh and Dawlatabad-e Balkh. The wickerworkers in Boryabaf obtain their rawmaterial from the lowlands between Dawlatabad-e Balkh and Amu Darya.

The wickerworkers of Tashqurghan share *kalanthar* with the *baqal*. They obtain their merchandise themselves in Kabul and sometimes large scale sellers also visit Tashqurghan.

The wickerworkers/sellers of Tashqurghan do very little manufacturing themselves. Their own production consists chiefly of cages and baskets.

The Ropemaker

On the Rope Street of the Central Town Bazaar of Tashqurghan there are eleven rope-making shops making a great variety of ropes and strings.

The ropemakers, who have a very low social status due to the fact that they use wool from dead animals, in most cases inherit their craft from their fathers or relatives. Most of them have from one to three *chagirds*, and they are combined manufacturers and sellers following the same taxation pattern as the blacksmiths. Their products are bought both by local consumers and by traders *en masse* and exported all over Afghanistan.

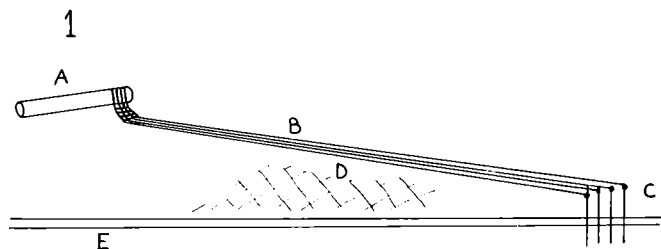
The ropemaker, *mujtab*, uses wool from sheep, goats and camels as a basic raw material.

The wool is first cleaned with a special implement known as *tanabe pashm gulani* (1).

This implement is placed in a special room and consists of the following parts:

A wooden handle approx. 35 cm long (*a*); four thick ropes (*b*) approximately 4 m each connected with the wooden handle and fastened at the other end with four metal nails driven into the floor (*c*); the floor (*e*) is an ordinary mud-brick one.

The cleaning is done in this way: the wool going to be cleaned (*d*) is placed on the floor under the four ropes, the door is closed and the wooden handle is pulled up and down while the ropes are beating the wool.



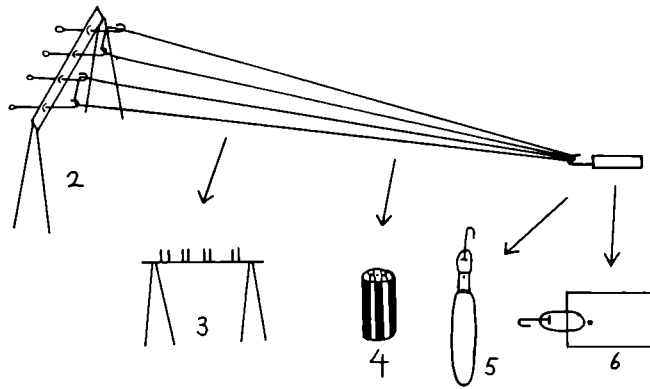


Tashqurghan: Three *chagirds* operating the *charkha* on the *sofa* outside a workshop on Rope Street.

The ropes are twined in a *charqator* (2) consisting of a wooden frame with four movable metal hooks connected with the rope-to-be. At the other end the rope is attached to a *murbat* which can have two different shapes (5 and 6); one type is a piece of rectangular-shaped wood with a turnable metal hook placed on the ground and often with a stone put on it in order to press it down firmly; the other type also consists of a turnable metal hook but it is attached to a band of coarse woven cloth and fastened around the body of the ropemaker or his *chagird* while the *charqator* is operated. When making very long ropes an implement called *minagirak* (3) is placed between the *charqator* and the *murbat* in order to prevent the rope becoming tangled. The *mianagirak* consists of a wooden frame with eight metal nails placed two and two through which the rope passes. To make the ropes more regular in shape a wooden *qaleb* (4) is placed on the rope.

Strings are made with a *charkha* (7), a big wooden wheel operated with a crank.

At the beginning of 1972 there were eleven ropemakers in Tashqurghan. This group of craftsmen has also been reduced within the last few years; in 1968 there were eighteen, according to them and the Municipality. They have a *kalanthar* of their own. The basic material, wool and hair, is bought from the leather-preparers and in cases of animal diseases when large numbers of animals die, the ropemakers themselves remove the hair/wool from the dead bodies. Most of the wool is used as it is, some of it is taken to the *nilgars* for colouring.



The ropemakers produce both certain types of “standard ropes” of various thicknesses and special ropes to order.

The prices are difficult to estimate. An ordinary thin rope of approximately six yards in length costs four afghanis, while a very thick rope of the same length ranges up to fifty afghanis.

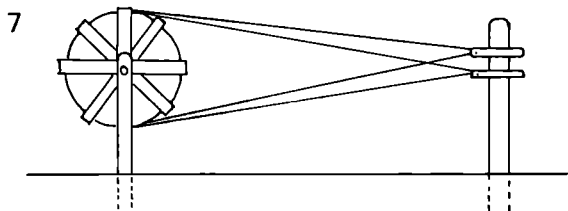
The ropemakers only occasionally make felt, *namad*. When making felt it is made in a *saray* in the bazaar and the raw material is bought from the leather-preparers’ workshops. The manufacture of felt in the bazaar is quite rare, occurring perhaps once a year. When I visited Tashqurghan felt was prepared in February 1972.

Sometimes, although quite seldom, Tashqurghan is visited by travelling feltmakers, *namadsaz*, mostly from the Maimana region, who stop in the bazaar for a few days. The travelling feltmakers buy their material from the ropemakers or directly from the leather-preparers.

The old description of feltmaking given by ELPHINSTONE is still valid:

It is made of wool ... It is made by the women, who wet the wool, and then work it up, rolling it over and kneading it with their hands, till it assumes a consistency: it is then spread out to the size required, and when finished, is from a quarter to half an inch thick, and is soft and pliant: ... (p. 234).

A similar description is given by FERDINAND from Hazarajat (1959, p. 36) and by SCHUYLER, from Tashkent (vol. 1, p. 183–184). The feltmakers use a wooden cudgel, *mushta*, and the wool is spread out on a sort of wicker carpet referred to as *qaleb*. Some of the felt made in Tashqurghan is decorated. Most of the felt, however, is bought from the rug-sellers who receive it from Hazarajat.



The Leatherworker

The various craftsmen working with leather and leather products in the bazaar of Tashqurghan fall into several clearly distinguishable categories, namely:

leather-preparers, *charmgar*
leather-sellers, *charmfrus*
leatherworkers, *seraj*
other leatherworkers,
shoemakers and related groups (see following chapter!)

Leather-preparers

The leather-preparers tan and prepare the raw leather into usable material, very seldom making any products out of the prepared leather. In this sense they are highly specialized.

The raw material of camel's, goat's and cow's hides is bought from local butchers and cattle-owners, as well as from Kabul (sic), Maimana, Badakshan and "every reachable place" (field-note).

The leather-preparers travel around themselves in order to buy raw material and sometimes people from the district bring hides to them for selling.

The preparation of leather takes place either privately or in the bazaar itself in secluded tanneries, *karkhana-ye charmgar*, each employing 3-4 workers. The process, which takes 30-45 days depending on the time of the year, consists of ten steps:

1. The hides are thrown into a water-basin, *hauz*, where they are kept one week in the summer or 20 days in the winter.
2. The hides are removed from the *hauz* and put on a bench, *tarachub*, where they are scratched with a tanner's knife, *khandas*.
3. After cleaning, the hides are put in a chemical bath to remove the remaining particles of hair and grease, for 15 to 25 days.
4. The hides are scratched again with a scraping-iron, *muydas*, after which the waste is sold to the rope and feltmakers.
5. The hides are put in salt water.
6. They are then smoked.
7. The hides are scratched again with the scraping-iron and a special knife called *dasereb*.
8. After this the hides are washed. They are now called *nimpokhta*, "half-prepared" and afterwards the actual tanning takes place.
9. The *nimpokhtas* are placed in large basins, *yam*, containing various ingredients.
10. The tanned leather is allowed to dry.

When the leather has been prepared it is taken to the shops on Leather Street to be sold.¹

¹ SCHUYLER describes the preparation of leather in the bazaar of Tashkent (vol. 1, p. 183).

The leather-preparers sell their products to the leather-sellers, *charmfrus*, but today most of the leather-preparers are combined *charmgar* and *charmfrus*.

Only men are involved in leather-preparing and the most suitable age for a *charmgar* is between 20–55 years old, because “it is a very hard job” (field-note).¹

Leather-sellers

There are 20 to 25 leather-sellers in Tashqurghan and they share *kalanthar* with the leather-preparers as the two trades are mostly conducted by the same people.

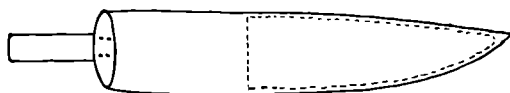
The *charmfrus* sell leather both to the local craftsmen, such as leatherworkers, shoemakers and cobblers, and to leather traders in Kabul, who purchase most of their production. To the local craftsmen the leather is sold by the piece, but to the traders only by weight.

Owing to the large scale export of leather from Tashqurghan the leather-preparers/sellers belong to one of the most prosperous groups in the bazaar. The leather-sellers also supply imported leather, *kurm*, and Russian black leather, *bulgar*, which is used by the shoemakers for making European-style shoes.

Leatherworkers

Whereas the leather-preparers/sellers constitute a well-to-do group, their neighbours the leatherworkers, *seraj*, face the reverse situation, finding their craft of diminishing importance. Challenged by imported products and a decreasing use of horses as means of transportation, their articles are not as much in demand as they once used to be.

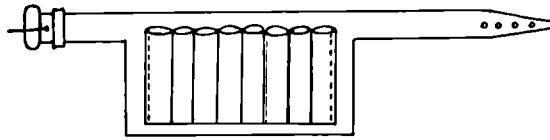
Today there are only three *serajs* left in the bazaar (in 1968 there were six) mostly engaged in making one of the few objects still profitable and in great demand—leather sheaths, *push-e kard*, for the knives manufactured by the local blacksmiths and sold all over Afghanistan. Besides knife-sheaths the *serajs* make among other things, belts, whips, munition-cases and munition-belts of various sizes, *qatar*, cases and covers for implements such as needle-bags, *jualduzan*, and covers for scissors, *push-e kaychi*. They also make large leather sacks, *mashk*, various bags, *baks*, *aykaldan*, transportation sacks for tea-pots and tea-bowls to be hung on the camel's neck when travelling, *tjini-kob*, and minor articles such as talismans for horses, *tumar-e asp*, etc. Most of these objects are decorated with simple geometrical designs in bright colours and they are almost entirely, with the exception of knife-sheaths, made for local consumers.



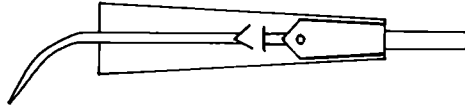
Knife-sheath of leather. Length of sheath 23,5 cm. Simple painted decoration.

The sheath is shaped on a wooden mould, sewn at the back and has a leather hook for carrying at the belt. Inside the sheath are inserted two pieces of wood glued to the leather.

¹ FERDINAND mentions from Hazarajat that both men and women are engaged in the preparation of leather (1959, p. 37).



Ammunition-belt of leather to be carried on the upper arm. Total length 30 cm. Simple painted decoration. Price 15 afghanis. A great variety of types exist.



Leather bag for needles; can be hung on belt. Closes with a leather-string. Length of bag itself 17 cm. Simple painted decoration. Price 5 afghanis. Exists in several sizes.

Sometimes they still make saddles and harnesses which were once their most important articles. Saddles are made of cow's hide, *charm-e gav*, and harnesses of goat's skin, *charm-e buz*.

They also make garments for horses and donkeys, such as nose-bands, *nukhta*, bridles, *qaiz*, girths, *pustang-e asp*, and cruppers, *dumtji-ye asp*.

Other leatherworkers

The use of chagrin-leather, *kemukht*, already mentioned by ELPHINSTONE, (p. 270 and 469) has rapidly diminished during the last decade. The green chagrin-leather made from horse and donkey-hides and prepared with copper sulphate and ammonium chloride is no longer manufactured in Tashqurghan and the very few remaining leatherworkers who sometimes use chagrin-leather, *kemukhtgar*, buy it from Aqcha, where it is still prepared. Among other things the *kemukhtgars* used to make *tirkish*, the piece of leather especially made for attaching the plow to the yoke, leather bowls used in traditional scales (which can still be seen in the Flour *Saray*, ladies shoes, as well as the "back-slip" and other parts of the *paizar*. See next chapter.) The traditional scales are no longer manufactured and the craft of the *kemukhtgars* is rapidly disappearing.

The *chigelsaz* is another group of specialized leatherworkers which has more or less disappeared from the bazaar. They used to make the leather for the drums, *dahera*, and some household implements.

In the Central Town Bazaar itself there are 19 leather-preparers/sellers and 3 *serajs*, all situated on Leather and Cloth Street. In addition to this there are a few leather-preparers who work at home.

The total number of people involved in leatherworking (with the exception of those doing shoe-making and shoe-repairing) is 21, half of them being Tajiks, the other half Uzbaks. Of the 21 leatherworkers, 13 had fathers also involved in the same or related crafts, the craft thus being hereditary.



Tashqurghan: Some of the *seraj's* tools. (A similar collection of *seraj's*/shoemaker's tools is displayed in the ethnographical department of the National Museum in Copenhagen).

The *seraj's* tools resemble those of the shoemaker.

A vice, *kargir*,
 a marble plate for preparing colour, *sang-e kar*,
 various awls for making holes and for sewing, *daraushi*,
 various metal files, *suwan*,
 a combination-tong, *ambur*,
 a pair of large metal compasses, *parkal*, and a ruler,
 a piece of wood used for making designs, *khatkash*,
 a pair of big scissors, *kaychi*,
 a hole-maker of metal, *tapa*,
 and a special leather-cutting knife, *buranda*.

Both the preparers/sellers and the *serajs* follow the same kind of taxation pattern as the blacksmiths and the preparers/sellers pay higher taxes than the blacksmiths.

Both the preparers/sellers and the *serajs* have *kalanthars* of their own.

Socially the *serajs* have higher status than the preparers/sellers, although the latter group is far better off economically than the former. The local population consider the work of the preparers/sellers to be lowly and "unclean", as they deal with dead animals, which is not the case with the

serajs who are considered to have a “clean” profession, notwithstanding their financial situation and diminishing importance. All the leatherworkers are married and have one wife each and the preparers/sellers have one to three *chagirds* each.

The Shoemaker

Technically there are several types of shoemakers and related craftsmen in the bazaar.¹ Strictly they can be divided into the following professional groups:

Paizarduz/Kawshduz or makers of traditional shoes;

Paizarfrus/Kawshfrus or sellers of traditional shoes;

Butduz (Butsaz) or makers of “modern” shoes;
Butfrus or sellers of both locally manufactured “modern” shoes and imported ones;

Maziduz/Mozaduz or bootmakers;

Pinaduz (Kohnaduz, Mutji) or cobblers;

and sub-groups such as combined shoemaker and cobbler, combined shoe-seller and cobbler, etc.

All the shoemakers are strictly combined makers and sellers but the term “shoe-seller” refers to those groups who only sell shoes and do not have any manufacturing of their own. All shoemakers and cobblers buy their leather from the local leather-preparers, together with some quantities of imported leather.

The *paizarduz/kawshduz* used to constitute a hereditary group of specialized shoemakers only manufacturing one kind of shoe, *paizar*. Today this distinction is rapidly disappearing, as is the demand for *paizar*. *Paizar* is a low leather shoe (p. 121) made by men and embroidered and decorated by women. It used to be a speciality of Tashqurghan, once sold all over Afghanistan. Half of the shoemakers are Uzbaks, half are Tajiks, and one is Turcman. Their most important products are:

Chareq, a string sandal

Chamus, an Uzbaki half-boot²

Bepas, a kind of slipper

Shikari, a western-looking shoe with a leather or rubber sole

Nimsaq, a half-boot resembling *chamus*

¹ Shoemaking in Bamian has been described by KIEFFER and REDARD giving a full account of all technical terms involved in the craft.

² Uzbak boots and shoes are described by ELPHINSTONE p. 469 et passim.



Tashqurghan: Some of the shoemaker's products.

Mazidaraz, very high leather boots
Chapli, a type of sling-back shoe. Made entirely of rubber or of leather with a rubber sole.
Tubi-ye mardana, a shoe entirely made of rubber resembling a galosh.

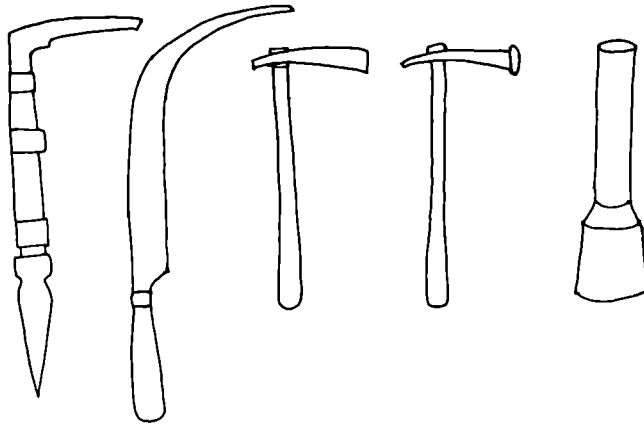
Today rubber soles from worn-out tires, as well as shoes entirely made of the same material are becoming extremely common as they are cheaper than the leather ones and also stand water better. The use of this type of rubber soles was already mentioned in 1930 by MOHN who says:

Recently the Afghan shoemakers have introduced an esteemed novelty: sandals with soles from the rubber of worn-out car-tires (C-J.C.'s transl.).¹

The shoemakers, who follow the same taxation pattern as the blacksmiths, have *chagirds* for a period of five years and the *chagirds* are given food, clothes, sometimes lodging and some pocket-money. After this period they can become *ustads*. The shoemakers prefer relatives and the age of a *chagird* when he enters the craft varies between 10 and 18 years old.

Today, the shoemakers in Tashqurghan have financial problems. Formerly they used to earn quite a lot of money but now the situation is different. People prefer imported cheap shoes, and rubber-boots and shoes made out of old tires, because they are cheaper. The shoemakers nowadays don't have as many *chagirds* as they used to have, in fact many of them work alone and their products are no longer in demand. Earlier their products were in great demand. Traders bought them in quantity and Tashqurghani shoes were sold almost all over the country. Today their products

¹ På sistone har de afghanska skomakarna lanserat en guterad nyhet: sandaler med sulor av gummi från kasserade bilringar (p. 350). (Cf. KIEFFER; p. 49).



The shoemaker's tools

are mostly sold to local consumers in and around Tashqurghan. I have, however, seen a small amount of Tashqurghani *paizars* in the bazaars of Kabul.

“There is no longer any future in shoemaking”, (field-note), many of them told me, and in a few years the shoemakers of Tashqurghan will only be a part of the Afghan history.

The tools of the shoemaker and leatherworker (vide p. 117) are often the same, such as *daraush*, *tapa*, *buranda*; some types, however, are mostly found in the workshop of the shoemaker, for example an anvil, *sangdan*; a special knife, *changkard*; various hammers, *tjakush*; and a *koba* for “smoothing” the leather.

The shoes are shaped on wooden moulds, *qaleb*, and the soles and other parts with paper patterns, *andaza*. The thread is made of cotton which has been prepared with bees'-wax and cotton-oil and the sewing is done with a special needle, *suzan*, which is sharpened on a small whetstone, *belaw*.

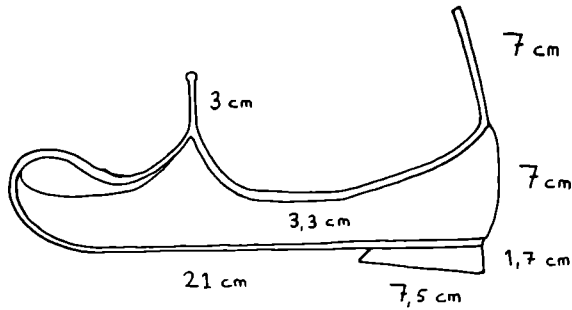
The shoemakers use chiefly cow-hide which is more expensive than goat-skin. The soles are often made of camel's skin, the vamp of cow-hide and boots mostly of goat's skin. Some of the goat-skin is prepared in Khanabad and sold to Tashqurghan. Chagrin-leather, *kemukht*, i.e. a type of horse or donkey-skin specially prepared with copper sulphate and ammonium chloride is seldom used by the shoemakers nowadays.

The black leather used in “modern” shoes is generally imported, and “European” shoes are skilfully copied.

There are about thirty shoemakers in all working in Tashqurghan, and many of them work at home and bring their products to be sold in the bazaar. Those who actually work in the bazaar itself are mostly found in and around the Tim. All shoemakers/sellers depend on the *kalanthar-e Tim* whom they share with the cap-sellers.

MARKOWSKI gives the following description of *paizars*:

Der Kabulafghane bevorzugt den im ganzen Orient üblichen Schnabelschuh ... Ein weit über die Kappe hinausragender Lederzipfel ... Die Sohle ist mit dicken Baumwollfäden angenäht ... Die Frauen tragen vielfach denselben Schnabelschuh wie die Männer (p. 71).



Paizar-e zanana.

Paizars are also described by BELLEW (1862, p. 32).

I was also told that if a person wore *nimsaq* or *mazidaraz* he needn't remove them for ritual washing before praying; it is considered enough if he wets the leather with his hands.

There are two basic types of *paizar*, *paizar-e zanana* (*p.* for women) and *paizar-e mardana* (*p.* for men).

Paizar-e mardana lacks the leather-slip on top of the shoe and is sometimes made with a rubber sole whereas the *paizar-e zanana* always has a sole of leather.

Further, a *paizar-e zanana* is often embroidered with metal thread and some of them are heavily decorated with gold and silver thread. The embroidery is the only part of the *paizar* which is done by women, often the wife or a relative of the *paizar*-maker.

An ordinary *paizar* with little or without embroidery costs about 60 afghanis and the prices of heavily embroidered and decorated ones range up to 250 afghanis.

Paizars are not made exclusively in Tashqurghan. KIEFFER (1968) describes *paizars* manufactured at Bamian costing 80–90 afghanis (p. 50). In Tashqurghan most of the *paizars* are sold in the Tim and in the shops close to the highway. The *paizars* are either made in the Tim or in private houses and brought to the bazaar for selling.

There are approximately 30 cobblers, *pinaduz*, in Tashqurghan, scattered all over the bazaar, but with a concentration found in *Bazaar-e birun*. Their craft is considered lowly as they only repair "used objects" and don't earn very much. Besides repairing shoes they polish them, sell shoe polish, waxes, shoe-laces and other minor articles.

For polishing a pair of half-boots they charged four afghanis and for changing the zipper in the same boots I was charged ten afghanis plus the price of the zipper itself.

The cobblers do not depend on the *kalanthar-e Tim* like the shoemakers/sellers but have a *kalanthar* of their own who is not a cobbler himself but a *meshr*, or leader of a *guzar*.

The Potter

Afghan pottery has been thoroughly described by DEMONT and CENTLIVRES (1967) in their excellent study based on field-material collected in the middle of the 1960's comprising material from Tashqurghan, Mazar-e Sharif, Pul-e Khunri, the Kabul-region, Patxao and the Jalalabad-region, with emphasis on the pottery and potters of Tashqurghan.¹

A minor study of pottery has also recently been made by DUPAIGNE, though this is not as comprehensive as DEMONT-CENTLIVRES', being based mostly on field-material from Aqcha collected in 1966-67.²

When I was studying pottery in Tashqurghan in 1970 and 1972 I found that there is not much to be added to what has already been said by DEMONT and CENTLIVRES and therefore I only intend to further elucidate some aspects and make a few corrections of DEMONT and CENTLIVRES' information.

My own study of the pottery and potters of Tashqurghan should therefore only be regarded as an amplificatory description of a traditional craft already scientifically described.³

Some general information might be needed as an introduction to pottery-making. I will make it as brief as possible.

One of the basic implements used is a potter's wheel, *charch*, operated by the feet and made of wood.

Most of the items are made by what is generally known as the "paddle-anvil technique" using a "paddle", *tamancha* of wood and two types of "anvils" *gundak* and *doki*, the first made entirely of earthenware and the second of earthenware with a long wooden handle.⁴ Some of the decoration is also made with the *tamancha*.

Most of the objects are baked in a kiln, *khumdan*.

In Tashqurghan there are two shops where pottery is made, both of them situated on the outskirts of the town and not in the bazaar. About forty years ago there were seven workshops (DEMONT-CENTLIVRES, p. 40) but most of them have closed down. The potter's workshop consists of several rooms, one with the potter's wheel, one for drying the products, one open yard, also for drying, one room with a kiln used in winter-time and finally another kiln situated outside the house and used during the summer.

All the pottery is brought to the Pottery *Saray* in the Central Town Bazaar (*saray-e kulala*) where it is sold to local consumers.⁵ The only pottery actually manufactured in the Pottery *Saray* is the *tandurs*, a type of oven for baking bread which is not baked in a kiln. There are two *tandur* potters in the Pottery *Saray* and the total number of sellers of pottery was estimated by DEMONT and CENTLIVRES to be about twenty (p. 40); when I inquired about six years after DEMONT and CENTLIVRES the number of sellers had been reduced to about twelve.

¹ Poteries et potiers d'Afghanistan.

² Aperçus sur quelques techniques afghanes.

³ A short account on pottery in Tashkent is given by SCHUYLER, vol. I, pp. 187-188.

⁴ Vide HIRSCHBERG-JANATA, p. 62; VAN BERCHEM, p. 8; RAVEN-HART, pp. 81-83; the drawings in PESHTCHEREVA;

DEMONT-CENTLIVRES, *passim* and figs. (planche III, photo 14); DUPAIGNE, pp. 72-73 and figs. 29 and 30.

⁵ Compare KARUTZ' photo "Töpfermarkt in Samarkand" which shows great similarities with Tashqurghan (p. 330).



Tashqurghan: *Saray-e kulala*.

According to DEMONT–CENTLIVRES,

Comme l'ensemble de la population artisanale de Tâşqurgân, les potiers se disent tadjiks (p. 60).

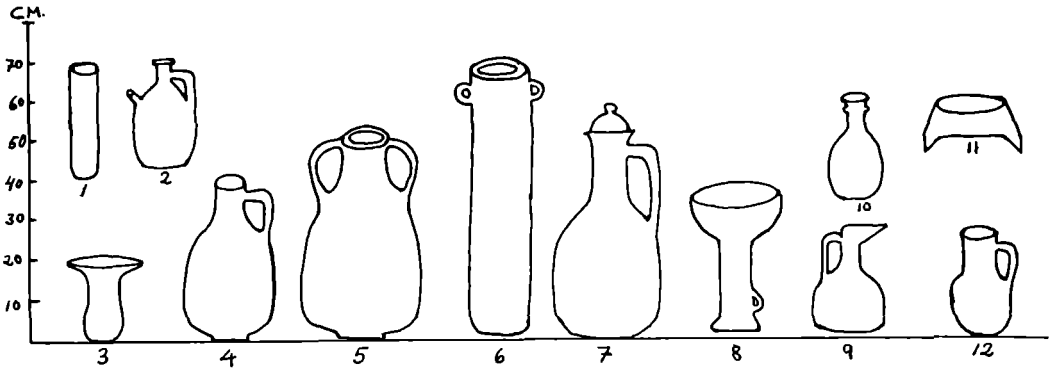
According to my own experience based on my own research in Tashqurghan this statement is definitely wrong—and wrong in two ways, because:

- a) All the craftsmen in Tashqurghan definitely do not consider themselves as Tajiks, although the majority of them are; several craftsmen in the bazaar are Uzbaks, and
- b) although the potters/pottery-sellers are mostly Tajiks there are also Uzbaks and Turcmans among them.

The potters, *kulal*, have one to three *chagirds*, usually relatives (cf. DEMONT and CENTLIVRES p. 60), who, when they are trained, can join the *ustad* as his partners. A potter's partner, *khalifa*, earns about 300–400 afghanis per week. There are no women involved in pottery-making/selling as is the rule in northern Afghanistan,¹ and this is also confirmed by DEMONT and CENTLIVRES (p. 61).

The craft is hereditary and all the fathers of the potters/pottery-sellers were engaged in the craft. The future of traditional pottery is hard to foresee. There is a decline in the craft and people

¹ An exception to this rule is pointed out by KUSSMAUL; and also by FERDINAND who reports that Hazara women in Badakshan pottery is made by Tajik women (pp. 71–72); manufacture pottery (1959, p. 36).



The diagram shows the most common types of pottery manufactured in Tashqurghan.

1) *Bulul*, pipe, price from 5 afghanis. 2) *Astawa*, water-jug mostly used for ritual washing, price 5 afghanis. 3) *Tobak*, chamber-pot for infants, glazed inside, price 5 afghanis. 4) *Kuz-e roghan*, pot for *roghan* (a type of oil), glazed inside, price 20 afghanis. 5) Same as number 4; price 30 afghanis. 6) *Gupi*, churn. 7) *Kuza*, jug for water, price 15 afghanis. 8) *Zerbagali*, drum. 9) *Golicha-e roghan*, jug for *roghan* etc. glazed inside, price 5 afghanis. 10) *Surai*, carafe, sometimes used as water-pipe. 11) *Manqal*, type of heater used in *sandalis*, not baked, price 8 afghanis. 12) *Golicha*, drinking-jug.

seem to prefer imported aluminium and plastic objects as they are easy to handle. On the other hand traditional pottery is comparatively cheap and as long as the situation remains constant the craft will not cease to exist.¹

No glass-work is done in this part of Afghanistan and as far as I know the tradition of working with glass in this part of the world has been confined only to Herat and further down in Iran. Glass products are still manufactured in Herat, though today these consist only of "water-bowls" for bird-cages and electric isolators (Cf. DUPAIGNE, pp. 80-81; WOLFE, p. 66.). In Herat there is only one remaining glass-worker, *karigar-e shishe*, whose products are mainly sold locally but some going to Kabul. Recently some tourist articles have been made out of old bottles, but as a rule this ancient craft is rapidly declining in favour of imported goods.

The *Pathragar* and the Culture of Tea

This chapter is for natural reasons divided into two parts

- a) The *Pathragar*
- b) The Culture of Tea,

because the *pathragar* should not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon but seen in a larger context and since the habit of drinking tea is an Afghan "national characteristic", to use an obsolete term, it is impossible not to mention the Afghan tea culture in this connection.

¹ The decline of pottery and the challenge from imported plastic household utensils was commented on in *Heywad* 16.3.1972.



Tashqurghan: A *pathragar* in his workshop on *Baqal* Street.



Tashqurghan: A *pathragar* mending a pot.

a) *The Pathragar*

Almost every Afghan household, tea-house and restaurant has or used to have a large number of china tea-pots and china tea-drinking cups, in which tea is or was normally served. Whenever a tea-pot is broken it is usually not thrown away but taken to a *pathragar*, or tea-pot mender, to be repaired.¹

There are two types of *pathragars*, a) the *pathragar* who works in the bazaar in a permanent shop, and, b) the travelling *pathragar* who travels around in the villages with his equipment, especially on local market-days, and puts up his little stand on the street for a couple of hours before continuing to the next village. The *pathragars* are mostly Pashtoons or Jats and both groups can be travelling *pathragars*, which is not confined solely to the Jats.

In Tashqurghan there are, as far as I know, only permanent *pathragars* but in the bazaar of Shibargan for example, I have observed several travelling *pathragars* on the *ruz-e bazaar*, or market-days.

¹ KARUTZ describes the craft of the *pathragar* in the bazaar of Bokhara (p. 329).

The *pathragar's* implements are very simple: A small drill, *barma*, a small bow, *kaman*, and a few tongs and when working he always holds the tea-pot which is to be repaired, between his feet.

The mending is carried out in this manner: He bores tiny holes on each side of the crack and inserts a thin strip of metal, *pathra*, in order to hold the broken parts together. If the tea-pot is broken in several pieces it is braced all over with metal strips, and if only the spout is broken off the tea-pot, a metal spout is attached to it. The repairs thus made usually last a long time and the tea-pots never seem to leak. A special kind of porcelain powder is also used in order to keep the metal strips in place.

In Tashqurghan the *pathragars* are considered to be one of the poorest groups of craftsmen and they are also the lowest taxed group in the bazaar. Besides mending tea-pots they also repair fishing-nets. They do not have a *kalanthar* and do not depend on any other groups.

Today the *pathragars* are another example of the dying crafts of Afghanistan and the cause of their rapid decline is the metal tea-pot mainly imported from The People's Republic of China and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Earlier, when all the tea-pots were made of china (mostly imported with the caravans from Russia or China, and nowadays from Japan) the *pathragars* always had work to do. But gradually people started to buy the unbreakable metal tea-pots as soon as the old china tea-pots cracked and the *pathragars* find themselves with less and less work to do. The number of *pathragars* is greatly reduced all over the country and one seldom sees any *chagirds* in their shops. The generation of *pathragars* living today in Afghanistan will probably be the last and tomorrow there will be one craft less to be studied in the bazaars ...

In July 1972 there was a total of five *pathragars* working in the bazaar of Tashqurghan; in 1969 there were eight, according to themselves and the Municipality. All the *pathragars* claim to originate from Badakshan and they refer to themselves as Tajiks.

They are:

Pathragar Mullah Ghani son of *pathragar* Birdi

Pathragar Mullah Fateh son of application-writer Saleh Mohammad

Pathragar Mullah Duder son of Jan Mohammad, profession not known

Pathragar Mohammad Shafi son of land and live-stock owner Abdur Raof

Pathragar Mohammad Hashim son of oil-seller Mohammad Zaman.

Only one of them, Mohammad Shafi, has a *chagird*, all the others work alone, which gives some indication of the prospects of the craft: One can hazard a guess that within the coming decades there will be only one *pathragar* in Tashqurghan, a situation which will be shared with other places in Afghanistan.

b) *The Culture of Tea*

In Afghanistan tea is not only a beverage but also a social habit. Innumerable cups of tea are drunk with and between meals all day long and whenever a visitor comes he is offered some tea; it is considered impolite to refuse to drink it. There are two types of tea used in Afghanistan, black

tea, *tjai siyah*, and green tea, *tjai sabz*, both of them imported from India and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Tea is consumed either as a *beverage* or as a *kind of soup*.

Tea as a beverage

Tea is usually prepared on a *samovar* which is heated with charcoal, sometimes kerosene, or rarely, electricity.

Basically there are three types of *samovars*, all ranging in size from 30 cm to one and a half metres.

1. Russian brass *samovars*
2. Afghan-made *samovars* of tinned copper
3. Afghan-made *samovars* of white metal sheet, manufactured by the *halabi saz*.

The Russian brass *samovars* are probably the most common ones and they were almost entirely manufactured before the Russian Revolution, in Tula and other craft-centres and brought to Afghanistan with the caravan trade.

Today the Russian brass *samovars*, popularly called “*nikolai*” after the czar, are found mainly in tea-houses and restaurants. Their numbers are gradually diminishing in private homes. The Afghan-made *samovars* of tinned copper are seldom made nowadays as they are considered to be too expensive and cheap kerosene *samovars* are imported. Formerly the tinned copper *samovars* were heavily decorated and samples of exquisite craftsmanship. Today they are facing the same future as other traditional copper products. *Samovars* are also made out of white metal sheet by the jobbing-smiths (*halabi saz*) and these are much cheaper to buy than the traditional ones made of more expensive material.

The *samovars* are filled with burning charcoal and water and kept boiling all day in order to have tea-water constantly ready for consumption.

MARKOWSKI remarks that tea-water is only prepared in *samovars* and never in saucepans and similar household utensils (p. 60). This mode of preparation is changing today and I have several times observed tea being prepared in saucepans or ordinary water-jugs, but still the use of *samovars* for this purpose is predominant all over Afghanistan.

Tea-leaves are put in a tea-pot, usually of porcelain (earlier, imported Russian or Chinese ones, today mostly in pots imported from Japan, or in metal pots) and allowed to stand for a few minutes before it is consumed. The tea-pots are often put on top of the *bokhari* in order to keep the beverage warm.

Tea-houses

Outside private homes tea is served in tea-houses and restaurants all day long. The tea-house, *tjaikhanna*, is mostly referred to as “*samovar*” and there are innumerable tea-houses all over the country. On each street there is normally one or more tea-houses, as well as close to all major highways and roads in Afghanistan. There are several types of tea-houses. Some tea-houses serve only tea, while others are combined restaurants and tea-houses. Some tea-houses also prepare tea



Tashqurghan: The tea-house of Naim Shah (R 30) on Rope Street. Naim Shah (to the right) and his *chagird* who pours out water from one of the two big Russian *samovars*. Note: The supply of tea-pots and plates close to the *samovars*; the entrance to the tea-house is situated behind Naim Shah.

for restaurants without facilities for making the beverage and others specialise in the preparation and distribution of tea to the shopkeepers and craftsmen in the bazaar.

The ordinary tea-house is just a small room similar to the shops in the bazaar, with two huge Russian brass *samovars*, some *kilim*-covered large wooden benches, *takhta*, and during winter-time a burning *bokhari* in the middle of the room.

The tea-houses are almost only visited by men and women are seldom seen in the *tjaikhannas*. In a way these also serve as a "men's club", where the men gather together, drink tea, chat, smoke their water-pipes and spend a great deal of their spare time.¹

MARKOWSKI describes the tea-houses thus:

Trotz des Alkoholverbots sind Gaststätten vorhanden, in denen die Männer gesellig zusammenkommen. Das sind die Teestuben. Sie sind nicht nur auf die Städte beschränkt, sondern auch auf dem Lande im Verhältnis zur Bevölkerungsziffer sogar noch häufiger. Ihre Ausstattung ist sehr einfach. Es ist wieder der übliche Bazarladen von ca. 2 × 2 m im Quadrat ohne Vorderwand. Doch gehört zur Ausstattung mehr Anlagekapital als z. B. zu einer Schlosserei oder einer Kupferschmiede. Man findet in einer Teestube meistens zwei Samoware, damit ständig heißes Wasser vorhanden ist. Zum Ausschank des Tees sind mindestens ein Dutzend porzellanene Teekannen und ebensoviel henkellose Teetassen notwendig (vergleiche Seite 75). Die Gäste hocken an der Wand entlang auf Schilf- oder Filzmatten, bestenfalls auf Kelims, auf dem Boden. Jeder hat seine Teekanne vor sich. Das Getränk ist so billig, daß sich auch die minder Begüterten seinen Genuß leisten können.

¹ Cf. A11, 1969: "The chief place of gathering and enjoying for men is the *chaikhana* (tea-house) where they drink tea or pass their time in gossip, or perhaps listen to the radio" (pp. 43-44).

In den städtischen Bazaren sind die Teestuben dem allgemeinen Bedürfnis entsprechend regellos zwischen die übrigen Läden eingeschoben. Die Händler lassen sich jedoch den Tee in ihren Laden bringen und genießen ihn nicht in der Teestube. Auch läßt ihn sich der Afghane häufig in seine Wohnung bringen (pp. 147-148).

MARKOWSKI's account is still valid and the unchangeable tea-houses of Afghanistan are still the same as they have been for generations.¹

The tea-houses of Tashqurghan have a *kalanthar* of their own which they share with the *kebab-makers*, *kebabî*.

All tea-houses in Tashqurghan serve bread which they buy on credit from the bakeries. Every five or ten pieces of bread which a tea-house receives from the baker is marked with a small incision on a wooden stick, *khatchub*, and the debts are paid regularly to the baker, according to the number of incisions. The same system of mnemonic aid is used by the tea-houses when they deliver tea on credit to the craftsmen/sellers in the bazaar, as well as by the *kebabî*.

As the tea-houses don't usually prepare any food themselves they always co-operate with a *kebabî* or an *oteli* in order to bring food to the guests.

There are about ten *kebabîs* scattered all over the bazaar. Some of them are referred to as *jigarfrus*, liver-kebab sellers.

Liver-kebab, *kebab-e jigari*, is considered inferior to ordinary kebab, and is usually considered as poor peoples' food. Liver-kebab is bought directly by the *jigarfrus* from the *sallakh*.

A portion of kebab with bread costs 12-14 afghanis.

Tea as a soup

Tea can also be made into something more resembling a "soup" than ordinary tea, thus serving as a meal together with bread.

There are several references to this in the literature on Afghanistan. ELPHINSTONE remarks about the Uzbaks that

Their tea is made by boiling the leaves: it is mixed with milk and butter, or (more frequently) the oil made from the fat tails of the Doombek sheep (p. 470).

BURNES has a similar statement on the Uzbek tea habits

The Uzbeks drink their tea with salt instead of sugar, and sometimes mix it with fat; it is then called 'keimuk chah'. After each person has had one or two large cups, a smaller one is handed round, made in the usual manner, without milk. The leaves of the pot are then divided among the party, and chewed like tobacco (vol. I, p. 221).

WOOD gives the following account from Qunduz:

A meal is never concluded without tea; it is also drunk at all hours of the day ... Yet tea in this country is not the meagre unsubstantial fare it is with us; it is termed '*keimuk chah*', or cream tea; and the cream is so rich and clotty as to give one the idea of its having been mixed with oil. Fat is sometimes added, and salt is the uniform substitute for sugar. The tea is made in a large iron pot, from which it is baled out with a wooden ladle, and handed round to the company by the host in small china bowls (pp. 142-143).

¹ Cf. SCHUYLER's description of a tea-house in Tashkent (vol. I, pp. 179-180) and also GRAY (p. 74).

Soup-like tea is prepared all over Afghanistan.

The most common type is probably *kaimaq-tjai*, a mixture of *kaimaq*, green tea, water, sugar and sometimes cardamom.¹ *Kaimaq* is a preparation made from milk which has been allowed to boil and from which a creamy substance is later collected. (Green tea can also be drunk plain, spiced with cardamom.)

Tea can further be mixed with milk and pieces of bread as a soup for breakfast and among Pash-toons in Kandahar and Zabul I have observed tea being mixed with butter and *roghan* but never any other types of fat.

The prices of tea vary from 50 pulis to 2 afghanis a pot in local tea-houses, and up to 10 afghanis in the restaurants of Kabul.

Way of drinking

Tea is traditionally drunk in a porcelain bowl without a handle. Formerly the bowls were brought by caravans from Russia and China but today most of them are imported from Japan (cf. MARKOWSKI, p. 75).

Each tea-drinker gets his own porcelain-pot, a bowl for drinking, *kob*, *piala*, a slop-basin of porcelain and a small saucer with powdered sugar, *burra*, or lump sugar, *qand*. Sugar is not always served and sometimes it is replaced by candy, often locally made *noqol*, sugar-covered walnuts, or nowadays more frequently Iranian toffee.

Before drinking, the drinking-bowl is rinsed on the inside and outside with hot tea, which is thrown away in the slop-basin; sugar is then poured from the saucer into the bowl and finally tea is poured from some height in order to dissolve the sugar, as no tea-spoon is used. When the bowl is finished, the slops are thrown into the slop-basin, the bowl is rinsed again and the procedure repeated until the tea-pot is empty. Tea-strainers are not used.

All over Afghanistan today the traditional drinking-bowls are gradually being replaced by imported Duralex glasses or tea-cups manufactured by the same company. The slop-basin is disappearing and tea-spoons are introduced as well as in some instances such modern innovations as tea-bags.

Tea can be enjoyed both with or without sugar. Very often it is customary to serve the first glass/bowl with a large amount of sugar and the others with less or totally without (cf. MARKOWSKI, p. 75). When drinking tea in local tea-houses one often gets a glass half-filled with powdered sugar on to which tea is poured. ELPHINSTONE remarks that sugar is only used by the rich (p. 470) and a similar view is also expressed by MARKOWSKI (p. 75), but this is not a general condition. It might occur that people can't afford to put sugar in their tea, especially as the price of sugar is unstable and goes up if the transports are delayed for climatic reasons (for example in Kabul February 1972, in Jalalabad during a temporary road-block for almost a week the same winter, etc.) but these are mere exceptions. In tea-houses furthermore, the price is the same for tea with or without sugar.

¹ Tea with milk, *Kaimaq* or butter is mentioned as being used among Uzbaks by SJOBERG, p. 77. See also GRAY, p. 74.

Sometimes salt is used instead of sugar in tea but this is not very common. WOOD calls salt "the uniform substitute for sugar" in Qunduz (pp. 142-143); BURNES points out the same among the Uzbaks (vol. I, p. 221); but personally I have only come across this practice a few times. In Tashqurghan for example, none of my informants had ever heard of mixing salt in tea, while a few persons said they knew about it in Shibargan.

The "Indian" type of tea, i.e. tea made out of both water and boiling hot milk, sugar and cinnamon, is as far as I know not known in Afghanistan although it is very common in Peshawar and the surrounding districts of "Pashtoonestan".

The Baker

Formerly there were no actual bakeries in Tashqurghan and all the bread, *nan*, was manufactured privately at home and sold in the streets by street-vendors carrying the bread in large trays, *sabat*, on their heads.

Recently the Afghan government passed a law which gave bread a fixed price, 2.5 afghanis for 330 g, and in October 1971 the local government of Tashqurghan supported the construction of 14 bakeries scattered all over the town in order to make it possible to control the weight of the bread sold. But still a large amount of bread is made and sold according to the previous system.

Baking at home was and still is very common in Afghanistan; it was thus observed by MARKOWSKI:

Der Bäcker spielt nicht dieselbe Rolle wie bei uns; denn sogar in der Stadt backt jeder, der den Raum für die Anlage eines Backofens hat, sein Brot selbst. Auf dem Lande sind Bäckereien so gut wie gar nicht zu finden (p. 149).¹

There are three ways of obtaining bread in Afghanistan:

1. Preparing the dough and baking it at home either for private consumption or for both private consumption and selling.
2. Only the dough is prepared at home and taken to a bakery where it is baked for a small fee.
3. Baking in special bakeries, which sell bread direct to the consumer and also supply the local restaurants and tea-houses.

In Tashqurghan some of the bakeries are situated close to water-mills where the baker can buy the flour; on Main Street there are two bakeries operating in this manner, located just a few yards from the water-mills, one on each side of the street.²

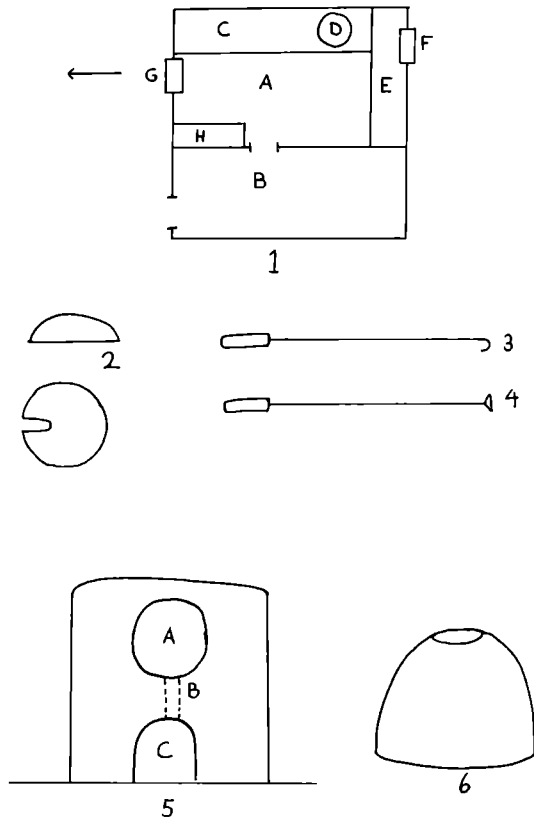
These bakeries consist of a small house where the dough is made and a large oven situated outside the house in a secluded court-yard. The house (fig. 1) consists of two small rooms (a and b); b serves as a general store-room and the dough is prepared in the other room, which is furnished with a wooden bench (h), a large flour-bin (c), a work-table (c), into which a glazed ceramic vessel

¹ Vide SJOBERG, p. 79 and Fig. 1. (Uzbaks); JEANNERET, (Kabul), DUPAIGNE, pp. 68-71 (northern Afghanistan).

² Water-mills have been described by ELPHINSTONE, p. 307.



Tashqurghan: Inside one of the small recently constructed bakeries in the Central Town Bazaar.



approximately 60 cm in diameter, *tagara*, is sunk (d); in this vessel the dough is kneaded. The room has two windows (g and f). When the dough is ready it is handed out through the window, (g), where the baker, *nanvai*, catches it. The oven is situated about three yards from the windows. The oven (fig. 5) is about 2 metres high and made entirely of mud-brick. It has two holes, (a) and (c), connected with each other inside the oven. Inside hole (a) a fire is burning and the ashes fall down into hole (c).

The baker places the dough which is to be baked on a *gazina* (fig. 2), a kind of disc, 15–20 cm in diameter, made of several layers of cloth and cotton attached to a wooden slab and with an opening for the thumb. He then throws the dough into the oven through hole (a) so that the dough sticks to the inside of the oven where it is baked by the heat from the fire. The baked bread is then taken out with two implements called *changak* (fig. 3) and *sikh* (fig. 4), both locally made of iron with wooden handles, and approximately 75 cm in length. Finally, the oven is cleaned inside with a *tandurpak*, a bunch of strips of cloth which are rubbed against the walls inside the oven. The ashes are removed from hole (c) with a spade.

The Tashqurghani bread, *nan-e uzbeki*, is about 15 cm in diameter and 2 cm thick. It is dotted with *siyadana*, the seeds of *nigella sativa* and stamped with a small decoration in the middle. The



Tashqurghan: Inside a water-mill close to Main Street.

tandurs have a capacity ranging from 10–80 loaves and the bakers normally bake three to four *tandurs* a day.

The actual oven, *tandur* (fig. 6), which is placed in the mud-brick construction, is manufactured by the potters in the Pottery *Saray* of Tashqurghan.

The bakers buy their flour daily on credit from the mills or from the *alafs* (*ardfirus*), or flour-sellers in the Flour *Saray*. They usually pay their debts the following day. Most of the bread sold by the bakers

to the local tea-houses and restaurants is also sold on credit, and markings on a wooden-stick are employed as a mnemonic aid.

The *kalanthar* of the bakers is paid and the bakers generally have no *chagirds*.

The Tailor

The tailors, *khayat*, are very important in Afghanistan as people very seldom (and especially outside Kabul) buy their clothes ready-made. The tailors seldom sell cloth but only do the actual tailoring. People buy the cloth from the *bazaz*, buttons and other small articles from the *banjara*, and go to the tailor to have their clothes made. The tailors only supply thread which the customers don't have to buy themselves.

The tailors use imported sewing-machines *mashin-e khayati* which in Tashqurghan are operated without electricity and they are mostly engaged in making the traditional Afghan dress *perhantom-ban*,¹ i.e. a long loose shirt, *perhan*, and a pair of baggy-trousers, *tomban*, the latter costs about 25 afghanis to be tailored, cloth excluded.

All the tailors have *chagirds*, usually one or two, and relatives are preferred.

The tailors make both male and female clothes with the exception of certain standard items which are bought ready-made such as veils, *chaderi*, *chapans*, imported underwear, turban-cloth, etc. Embroidery is seldom done by the tailors and if, for example, a man wants some embroidery on his *perhan*, he buys a piece of embroidered cloth in the bazaar and gets the tailor to attach it to the garment. This kind of embroidery is mostly done by local women in the villages and sold to the *karbaz* or *bazaz* in the bazaar, who furnish the customers with it.

The tailors, as well as the women making clothes in the families, are very skilled in imitating "European models".²

MARKOWSKI observed that

Schuster, Sattler, Schneider, Mützenmacher und Kürschner zeichnen sich durch eine erstaunliche Fertigkeit im Kopieren europäischer Produkte ihres Gewerbes aus (p. 150).

A similar example is given by FERDINAND from Hazarajat:

The women do all the sewing of clothes. They have in a remarkable way been able to adapt new ideas; nowhere else but in Hazarajat will you find all the men clad in overcoats of European cut, made of their own *barak* (1959, p. 36).³

Most of the clothes are made out of white cotton cloth made in Jebal us Saraj, or cotton cloth imported from Pakistan, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia and Japan.

Besides the *perhantomban* the tailors make a kind of underwear, *nekar*, coats, *wazkot*, and the traditional winter outfit resembling the *perhantomban*, consisting of a long shirt made of two layers of cotton cloth with cotton stuffed between, *gupicha*, and a pair of loose trousers, *shalwar*, made in the same way as the shirt.⁴

¹ Called *kurta* and *ezar* north of the Hindu Kush.

² Cf. GRAY, p. 89; see also HAMILTON, p. 380.

³ This is also mentioned by ASLANOV, p. 40.

⁴ Uzbek clothes are described by SJOBERG, pp. 81-84.

There are nine tailors working in the bazaar and one of them, tailor Amir on Cloth Street, is of Hazara origin—probably the only resident Hazara in all Tashqurghan, as well as being the only *shia*.

The Barber

There are three categories of barbers in today's Afghanistan:

1. Barbers working in permanent establishments, mostly in the bazaars, in almost every town and village.
2. Barbers working outdoors with portable equipment.
3. Travelling barbers.

To this can be added a fourth group, "hair-stylists" mostly employed by foreigners of both sexes and the upper classes of the Afghan society. Their shops are chiefly to be found in Kabul and the major cities. This group has come into being within the last decade and can not be considered as a traditional one. I therefore leave it un-examined.

The barbers working outdoors can be found all over the country. They work mainly on the pavement or street in a kneeling position and the customer requiring a hair-cut or shave sits in front of the barber, directly on the ground or on a low chair. Some of the barbers put out a piece of cloth or a *kilim* on the ground to sit on. The place where they work is permanent and each barber has his own spot, working generally all the year round except on public holidays. He carries his equipment in a small wooden box which stands beside him on the street or pavement. Warm water is obtained from a simple heater which is also included in his equipment. The heater consists merely of an old tin with one side open and perforated sides. Inside the tin he makes a fire and puts a small aluminium bowl with water to be warmed, on top of it.

In Kabul for example, outdoor barbers can be seen sitting on the pavement close to the main mosque, Pul-e khisti, and down by the river.

Travelling barbers, like travelling *pathragars*, have the same type of equipment as the barbers working outdoors. They also work outdoors but travel from place to place visiting the different villages, especially on the market-days, when they put up their stands in the bazaar areas. Some of them are Jats (BELLEW, 1862, p. 19).

In Tashqurghan barbers work only in permanent shops and travelling barbers, as well as barbers who work outdoors, are not to be found.

Their trade is hereditary as it is in general all over the country, and they usually have one *chagird* each, preferably a son. They are always considered an inferior social group (v. p. 176 et seq.) and they have a *kalanthar* of their own, whom they share with the *kunjarafus*, the *bedafus*, and the *kohnafus*, all these being considered as sellers of low income and fairly low social status.

The barbers, commonly called *dalak* and rarely *salman*, give the following services:

Cutting and shaving of hair and beards;
giving massage in the public baths, *hamam*;

shaving the armpits;
cutting of finger and toe-nails;
removal of aching teeth;
cupping;
phlebotomy;
moxa.

Besides this they also act as musicians at weddings and other parties, arrange weddings, prepare food, and carry out circumcisions. (cf. KIEFFER, p. 194; SJOBERG, p. 92; SCHURMANN, pp. 227 et 250).¹

There is no definite age for circumcision, *sonat*, but it is generally carried out at about the age of seven and always before puberty. Nowadays the circumcision is sometimes performed at hospitals or in private medical surgeries, but still the operation is performed mainly by the barbers all over the country.²

In places without barbers, as in Hazarajat (FERDINAND, 1959, p. 37), the operation is performed when a travelling barber arrives at the village.

The operation is never carried out in the barber's shop, but in the house of the family having a son to be circumcised. During the operation the barber is assisted by his *chagird*.

On request the barbers also visit people privately in their homes, cutting their hair and shaving them.

The barber's equipment normally consists of a mirror, *aina*, a small chair, *chawki*, scissors, *kaychi*, and razors, *paki*. When removing teeth he uses a special tong, *dandauakash*, locally manufactured by the blacksmiths.³

All the waste collected in the barber's shop (hair, nails, etc.) is buried carefully by the barber in order to prevent people from using it for "magical" purposes.

The combs used to be made of wood but today imported plastic ones are becoming more and more common.

The barbers seldom have fixed prices; for a haircut or shave one normally pays 10 afghanis.

The barbers also perform *sarkali*, the traditional head-shaving ceremony of newly born babies, thus described by SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH:

When a few months old, the head-shaving ceremony is performed by the family barber. The child is dressed in gaudy clothing; the barber spreads an embroidered handkerchief, wets the hair with rose-water from a silver cup, and shaves with a new razor. This practice has originated in the belief that the hair of a newborn child is unclean (p. 41).

This ceremony is also mentioned by ALI (1958, p. 46; 1969, p. 39).

The barbers constitute an endogamous group in the Afghan society and it is extremely unusual for barbers to intermarry with other groups, no matter what their social position is (cf. SCHURMANN: "There is absolutely no intermarriage between Dalâks and non-Dalâks", p. 227). The

¹ Barbers doing surgery is mentioned by SCHUYLER (p. 180), HAMILTON (p. 392) and GRAY (pp. 120-121).

² Clitoridectomy is not performed.

³ A collection of barber's implements is displayed in the ethnographical department of the National Museum in Copenhagen.

inferior position of the barbers has been stated by several ethnographers (DEMONT and CENTLIVRES, p. 60; SCHURMANN, p. 225 et passim, KIEFFER, p. 194; FERDINAND 1959, p. 37 DOSTAL, p. 199) but their role as a pariah group has never been thoroughly studied. SCHURMANN suggests that

It is possible that they are ultimately related to the Jâts of Eastern Afghanistan. The Jâts fulfil the same role as the Dalâks and are equally despised (p. 227).

In the Central Town Bazaar of Tashqurghan there are 17 permanent barbers' shops all looking like ordinary bazaar shops.

About two thirds of them are Tajiks, one third are Uzbaks.

The social position of the barbers is an enigma. Whereas Islam stresses equality of all believers, some groups are traditionally counted as inferior. Yet the barbers perform some of the necessities of life and there is definitely a need for them in the Afghan society, which couldn't do without them. People need their haircut, shaving, regular head-shaving, somebody must play the instruments and be the entertainer/musician at parties and celebrations, and circumcision is both prescribed by religion and universally practised. Thus they have an important social role and their services are wholly integrated in the daily life as a vital part of the Afghan scene, but they are despised by the people they serve, they are the "untouchables" of Afghanistan.

The Cloth-Dyer

The cloth-dyers, *nilgar*, are considered to be "unclean" and of very low social status (see pp. 176 et seq.). They constitute a poor group of craftsmen of gradually diminishing importance. They have no *kalanthar* of their own and they do not depend on any other groups' for one. Nowadays they work almost exclusively with imported cheap dyes from Great Britain and The Federal Republic of Germany, which they obtain from the *atar*. Formerly they prepared herbal colours themselves.

The most important colours are indigo, *nil*, red, *qermez*, violet, *lajiwar*, and orange, *narenji*, which they prepare themselves in a large pot, *khum*. They prepare mostly thread and skeins of wool on behalf of the *karbaz*, wool for rope and rug-making, but also cloth, and ready-made articles such as *kilims* and *chapan*s. Besides this they dye decorations for camels, *pupak*, and covers for partridge-cages, *qafas-e push*.

They are paid by weight.

In the bazaar itself there are 4 *nilgars* at work; one on *Baqal* Street and three in *Bazaar-e birun*; a few years ago there were six. They all belong to the same family, viz. the father Juma, son of cloth-dyer Mohammad Sharif, and his three sons, Gholam Saki, Abdur Razeq, and Abdul Kha-leq. They are all of Tajik origin and Juma's family have been *nilgars* for seven generations. He has several grandsons but he says that it is very uncertain if they are going to continue with the trade of their ancestors or not, as the financial prospects of the craft are very bad. A *nilgar* normally earns between 500 to 1 000 afghanis per month and they have no supplementary income. Despite the fact that the three sons of Juma all have sons of their own, none of them have *chagirds*, and there are no women at all involved in the craft.

Finally I asked Juma and his sons what they thought of their social situation and their role as a more or less endogamous group. Juma said that he thought it was correct to keep the group together and that it was not right to take a marriage partner of a status other than your own.

His sons agreed and said that nobody but a girl from a *nilgar* family would marry a *nilgar*, because "we have a low income, dirty hands and smell bad" (field-note).

Some fifty years ago the *nilgars* were quite important in the bazaar. They had lots of work to do, especially colouring *chaderis*. MARKOWSKI, giving a brief account of their craft, refers to them as "ein verhältnismässig wichtiges Gewerbe ist das der Färber" (p. 151).

The reason for their decline is to be found in the increasing impact of ready-coloured imported cloth, which makes their trade less important.¹

The Sellers

The taxation of the sellers follows the same pattern as the blacksmiths, with several categories of tax paid both to the Municipality. and to the Ministry of Finance.

There are, however, some difference in the taxation of sellers, compared to makers: The *ehzarnama*-tax which is based yearly on one month's shop rent for the makers is based on two months shop rent for the sellers and they also have a higher *jawaznama* than the makers.

The sellers pay higher tax than the makers. The sellers are also divided into different groups of taxation, and of all sellers the *bazaz* and the tea-sellers, *tjaifrus*, pay the highest tax. This is most likely due to the fact that they both sell imported goods, that tea is monopolized and that the *bazaz* is the group earning most among them.

The sellers are also, as a rule, considered to be wealthier than the makers.

The Candy-Seller

The candy-sellers of Tashqurghan, *shirinifrus*, can be divided into two categories: (1) Candy-sellers with permanent shops and (2) candy-sellers with portable stands. Most of the various types of candy sold are manufactured in the homes of the candy-sellers, and in Tashqurghan very few candy-sellers stock imported candy. All types of candy are sold by weight.

The candy-sellers with portable stands come every morning to different spots in the bazaar where they erect their small stands which consist mainly of a large metal tray with candy wrapped in green leaves, a knife for cutting, scales, a bowl for money and some paper or plastic bags for the customers.

The amount of money invested in stock is usually very limited. Most of the locally manufactured candy consists only of sugar, milk and various spices and the most popular type is the *halva*, a hard whitish substance made in big lumps.²

¹ Cf. SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 182.

² Candy is briefly described by SJOBERG, p. 81.

The most common types of candy in Tashqurghan are:

<i>Halva kunjiti</i>	<i>shirniqak</i> or <i>turshak</i>
<i>halva marzi</i>	<i>zanjabil</i>
<i>noqol</i>	<i>shirpera</i>
<i>lauz</i>	<i>nechala</i>

The actual manufacture of candy is carried out by women, using a large cooking-pot for melting the substances, *dig*, metal spoons, *chumcha*, metal ladles, *kafgir*, and various wooden moulds, *kapcha*. The candymakers are referred to as *qanad* or *shirimipaz*, but very often the word *qanad* is used to denote both seller and maker.

There are about ten candy-sellers in the whole of Tashqurghan and they share their *kalanthar* with the candymakers.

The candy is eaten when drinking tea, often as a substitute for sugar, as well as in considerable amounts at parties and on occasions of celebration.

The *Baqal*

The *baqal* can be regarded as a foodstuff-seller, selling non-prepared food and a great variety of other minor articles. The goods in the *baqal* shops vary from *baqal* to *baqal* and the only thing the *baqals* have in common is the foodstuff. The *baqals* often sell things which are also sold by *banjaras* and *qanad* and many *baqals* have a side line, for example selling furs, china or tea in their shops.

The following list gives an idea of what kind of objects you can find in a *baqal*-shop:

Cereals	sugar	vegetables	matches
ghee	rice	pepper	cigarettes
<i>roghan</i>	peas	egg	soap
beans	<i>kunjit</i>	<i>gurr</i> (raw cane sugar)	onions
candy	fruit	tinned food	
tea	salt	crackers	

Among the objects one seldom finds in a *baqal*shop are: Bread, meat and fish.

The *baqals* form the biggest group of sellers in the whole bazaar, and they are scattered all over the Central Town Bazaar. They are about 150 in number. Several other groups of sellers/makers depend on the *kalanthar-e baqali*, such as wickerworkers/sellers, tea-sellers (i.e. not tea-houses), birdcage-makers/sellers, petrol and kerosene-sellers and *roghan*-sellers.

The tea-sellers, *tjaifrus*, are considered to have a fairly high social status and their goods are always in demand due to the fact that they supply both the local population and the numerous tea-houses with tea. This is imported from The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and India. Some of them sell only tea, while some are combined tea-sellers and *baqal*. Some of them are Pashtoons.

The petrol and kerosene-sellers, *tel-e khakfrus*, are about half a dozen in number, and are located in the Foodstuff Market and the Raisin Saray (No 2 and 28 on the sketch-map p. 26).

Their merchandise is imported in large metal containers/barrels from The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the empty containers/barrels are sold to the jobbing-smiths who use them in door and implement making.

Their trade is highly profitable because Tashqurghan up to 1971 lacked electricity, and it will most likely take quite a few more years until the whole town is electrified.

The *roghan*-sellers, *roghanfrus*, situated in *Bazaar-e birun*, besides *roghan* also supply imported oil from Pakistan and Bangla Desh.

Today all of the porcelain-sellers, *tjinifrus*, are combined porcelain-sellers and *baqal*. Previously they sold Russian porcelain, but today they furnish solely Japanese items such as tea-pots, tea-bowls and plates, together with the indispensable French Duralex glasses.

The *baqal* obtains his merchandise in the following way: Rice and cereals are bought from the Rice *Saray* and Flour *Saray* in Tashqurghan; fruits, nuts and similar agricultural products are bought locally, either directly from the cultivator or from people bringing it to the shop; vegetable oil is bought from the local oil-presses; *ghee* is bought from special traders; tea is bought by the ordinary *baqal* from the *tjaifrus* who buys it from traders in Kabul; soap is locally manufactured by women at home and sold to the *baqal* by a female *dadal*;¹ cigarettes, matches and other machine-made articles are either bought from the local *banjaras* or from Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif.

The Rug-Seller

First, a clarification of the somewhat strange word “rug-seller”: We have to make a distinction between “rugs” and “carpets”. A “carpet” denotes a *knitted* product while the word “rug” refers to a *woven* object. The rug-seller, *shalfrus*, (lit. ‘seller of *shal*’=woven bands) may of course sell carpets and/or carpet-work but that is not his chief merchandise. The rug-seller sells almost solely woven products.

In March 1972 there were eight rug-sellers in Tashqurghan working in the same street as the ropemakers. One of the rug-sellers died shortly after I left and at the end of July 1972 his shop was still closed. The rug-sellers, sharing a *kalanthar* with the ropemakers, are typical sellers with no manufacturing of their own.

Their trade is hereditary. Out of eight, five had fathers who were also rug-sellers, two were ropemakers and one was a *mullah*. They have at most one *chagird*, usually a son helping them in the shop. Some of them refer to themselves as *pashmfrus*, sellers of wool and skein, but they are classified as *shalfrus*. Two of them are of Arab origin and the others refer to themselves as Tajiks. They are all married and have one wife each.

¹ There are two types of soap: *sabun-e khulmi* and *sabun-e kafeki*; the latter being of higher quality. They are made of saponine, sheep’s fat, lime, salt and vegetable oil. Soap is manufactured exclusively by women in Tashqurghan.

They only supply a local rural population and most of their products are made in the surroundings of Tashqurghan, in Afghan Turkestan and Hazarajat.

Their most important merchandise consists of woven products such as:

- large jute sacks for transportation, *buyi*;
- double transportation sacks for donkeys, *khörjin*;
- large transportation sacks for hay, grain, etc., *jual*;
- a large variety of bands for decoration and attaching animals, etc., *tangiasp*, *qur*, *qur-e bardar*, *qur-e popakdar*, *daura* (?) *shal-e barkhurd*, *shal*, *tangikhar*, *tangigau*, etc.;
- transportation sacks of felt for tea-pots, *tjinikob*;
- kilims* made in the district or in Hazarajat;
- covers for animals;
- sometimes rope, felt, garments for animals, *chapans*, carpets, cheap imported Pakistani machine-made rugs, coarse woven cloth, etc.

The bands for decorative purposes are used on tents, yurts and animals. Most of their merchandise is made in the district and brought for sale to the bazaar on market-days.

The *shalfrus* are not, in contrast to the cap-sellers in the Tim, exclusively supplied by specialists, and this is an important distinction. There are two types of weavers, women working in their spare-time out in the *qislaks*, using weaving as a way of bringing additional money to the household, and professional male weavers, *jula*, who are, so to speak, specialists.

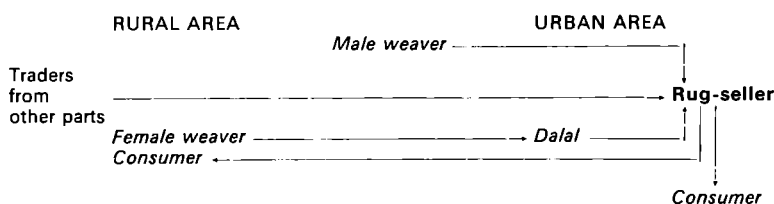
Women who work with weaving, *bafindagi*, mostly manufacture *chapans*, transportation sacks, bands, *shal*, while the male weavers make mostly cotton cloth of various types.

All weaving is done at home on a horizontal loom, *tar*, and both groups of weavers supply the rug-sellers and the *karbazfrus*. Woven cloth used for making clothes is, however, not sold by the rug-sellers.

The rug-sellers are generally not related to the weavers.

As far as I know silk is manufactured in Tashqurghan and the silk sold in the bazaar is mostly bought from Aqcha.¹

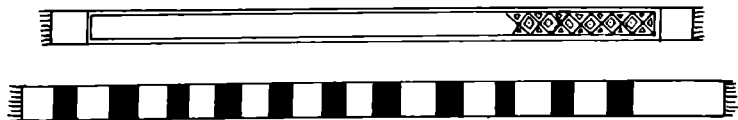
The exchange of goods to and from the rug-sellers can be roughly analysed as below:



On the following pages some of the items sold by the rug-sellers are described.

¹ An account of weaving, silk-work, embroidery, etc. is found in DUPAIGNE, pp. 43-59. See also SEDQI, p. 54; SCHUYLER, vol. I, pp. 190-201.

Only a small amount of silk is produced in Tashqurghan.



Tangiasb

Coarse woven band for tying saddles etc., on horses and donkeys.

Size: 175 × 7.5 cm. Weight: 275 g.

Made of wool in one piece, quite thick; greyish and black.

Price: 30 afs.

Two types of *tangiasb* exist: woven *tangiasb* knitted *tangiasb*, carpet-work, mostly in red and white colours; almost solely made by Turcmans.

Size: 160 × 8 cm. Weight: 285 g.

Price: 80 afs.

A great variety of different designs exist.



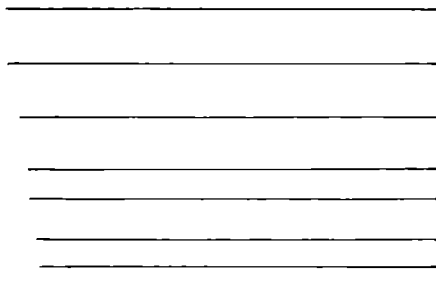
Tangigau

Coarse woven band for attaching garments, implements etc. on cows.

Size: 110 × 9 cm. Weight: 100 g.

Made of wool, in one piece; sold by the meter; dark brown and whitish.

Price: 8 afs.



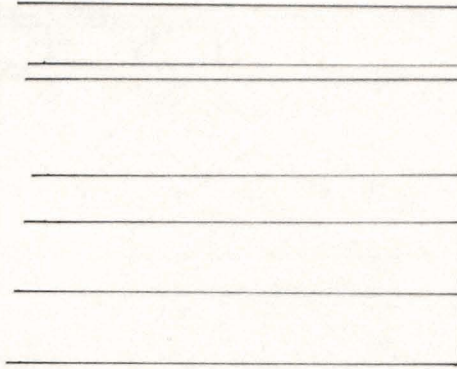
Tangikhar

Coarse loosely woven band used for attaching covers, saddles, transportation sacks, etc., on donkeys. Dark brown and greyish.

Size: 100 × 8 cm. Weight: 75 g.

Sold by the meter.

Price: 8 afs.



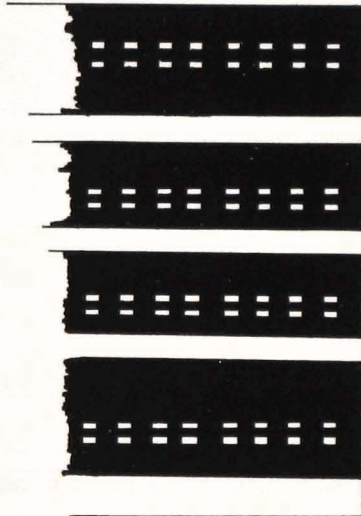
Shal-e barkhurd

Woven cloth. Several pieces are sewn together in order to make horse-covers, transportation sacks, etc. Colours: Dark brown, light brown, grey and whitish.

Sold by the meter.

Size: 110 × 21 cm. Weight: 250 g.

Price: 25 afs.



Shal

Woven cloth. Several pieces are sewn together and used in making transportation sacks, horse-covers, etc. Light brownish and dark brown. Sold by the meter.

Size: 110 × 30 cm. Weight: 325 g.

Price: 50 afs.

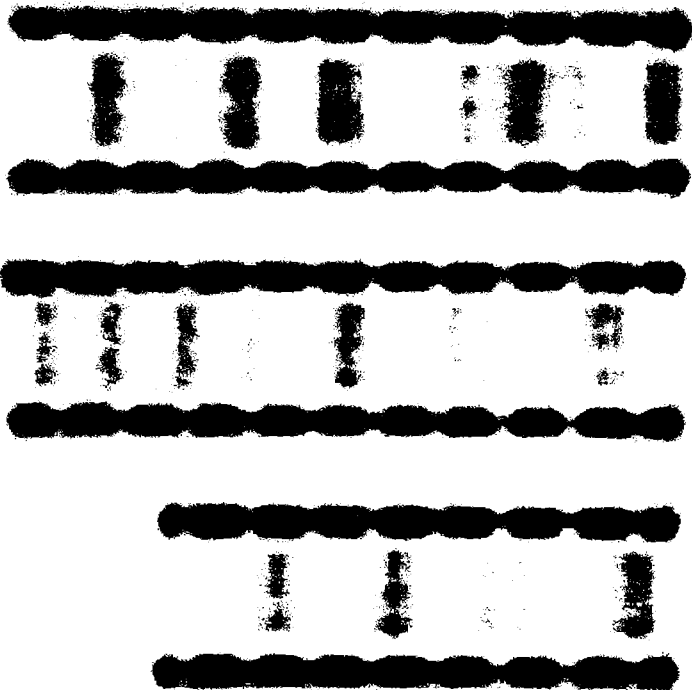




PHOTO BY [unreadable] FOR THE [unreadable]

The House

The house is a simple structure of [unreadable] and [unreadable] with a [unreadable] roof. It is built on a [unreadable] foundation and has a [unreadable] front porch.

The interior of the house is [unreadable] and [unreadable]. It has a [unreadable] floor and [unreadable] walls. The [unreadable] is [unreadable] and [unreadable].

The house is [unreadable] and [unreadable]. It is a [unreadable] and [unreadable] structure. It has a [unreadable] and [unreadable] roof.

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The house is [unreadable] and [unreadable]. It is a [unreadable] and [unreadable] structure. It has a [unreadable] and [unreadable] roof.

Specialized street-vendors: Street-vendor, *tabafstabangi*, only selling a few typical *banjara* articles such as razors, needles, thread, combs, ball-point pens, etc. This group mostly walks around in the streets with their whole stock on a tray, *tabaf*, or in a small portable stand and generally they only sell one or two types of articles. As soon as their goods are sold they go to a genuine *banjara*, buy more articles and re-sell them again at a small profit.

Non-specialized street-vendors: The same as specialized street-vendors but selling many different kinds of articles and not just a limited number of things.

To this can also be added that some street-vendors also include in their stock typical *baqal* articles (food-stuffs, fruits, etc.), especially in Kabul.

In Kabul all groups of *banjaras* are represented; the street-vendors constitute the largest group and there are probably thousands of them operating in the central parts of Kabul, but it is impossible to obtain any figures as they are not licensed like most of the *banjaras* and thus not subject to taxation.

In Tashqurghan, however, there are extremely few street-vendors and the genuine *banjaras* constitute an overwhelming majority. On the covered *Banjara* Street there are 31 genuine *banjaras* and three combined *banjara-atars* and in the whole town there are altogether 45 *banjaras*. They are exclusively sellers and supply the local population with "minor articles" as well as the local craftsmen with some raw material. Some of them also supply merchandise to the *banjaras* out in the villages. The *banjaras* of Tashqurghan go to Kabul themselves in order to buy their articles. On *Banjara* Street all *banjaras* except three are married and those married have only one wife each. As a rule they have no *chagirds* but a son or relative usually helps them in the shop.

The *banjaras* sell everything. A few general characteristics can be mentioned.

1. They very seldom sell any types of cloth except some laces, sometimes imported underwear, handkerchiefs etc.

2. They do not sell any types of foodstuff with the exception of some imported Iranian toffees, biscuits imported from Pakistan, and sometimes small amounts of spices.

3. Some of them, though not all, keep a limited amount of cigarettes in stock.

4. Some of them, especially those on the Mazar-e Sharif—Kabul highway, sell, at a small profit locally manufactured handicrafts such as *paizars*, knives, caps, wooden cradles, various types of woodwork, leatherwork, etc., together with nuts and almonds to people passing by on the road. These *banjaras* buy the objects directly in the bazaar and sometimes also act as wholesalers of Tashqurghani products.

5. The total value of the stock of a genuine *banjara* ranges from a few thousand afghanis upwards, while the value of the street-vendor's stock normally lies between 50 and a few hundred afghanis. There is thus a great difference in the invested capital between the genuine *banjara* and his related colleague the street-vendor. There is also a difference in the mode of selling (permanent shop—portable stand/tray) and mode of purchasing the merchandise, as the street-vendor is characterised by small scale purchasing, whereas the genuine *banjara* normally buys larger quantities.

These general characteristics are applicable all over Afghanistan with the exception of point 4.

The *banjaras'* shops are typical general stores. Almost everything can be found in their often astonishingly large stocks. Typical *banjara* articles are: Thread, needles, buttons, zippers, razor-

blades, matches, cigarettes, soap, tooth-paste, imported biscuits and candy, paper and envelopes, pencils and ball-point pens, a small number of books, toys, cheap plastic jewellery, some spices, some household utensils, plastic articles, combs, shoe-laces, contraceptives, pocket-knives, flutes, minor musical instruments, aspirin, and sometimes “drugs”, together with a large assortment of *bric à brac*. Most of the *banjaras* are Tajiks but a few are *sayeds*.

The *banjaras* share their *kalanthar* with two fairly new groups of craftsmen, the watchmakers/sellers, *satsaz*, and the radio-repairers/sellers, *radiosaz/radiofrus*.

The *banjaras* of Tashqurghan mainly obtain their merchandise from Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif and do not directly import from foreign countries themselves. As a rule they personally travel in order to purchase merchandise. If they intend to buy a large amount of things they go to Kabul; if the amount is small, to Mazar-e Sharif. If they have a relative or friend who for some reason is going to Kabul, they often ask him to bring back a few objects such as razor-blades, imported tooth-paste, imported soap, etc.

The *Atar*

The *atar* is a seller and often a preparer of folk-medicines, herbal remedies, etc., and can be regarded as a highly specialised seller.¹ Besides “medicines” the *atar* usually supplies spices, essences, locally manufactured perfumes and colours for dyeing.

Very often the *atar* is a combined *atar-banjara* and in Tashqurghan all *atars* belong to this category.

The *atars* must be seen in a broader context in order to be fully understood. In Afghanistan there are educated medical doctors connected with a network of hospitals and pharmacies working side by side (though not as a rule co-operating) with local “doctors” and sellers of traditional drugs, *atars*. The standard of the local “doctors” ranges from religious hoaxers, superstitious *mullahs* and *tauvizgars*, to snake-doctors and competent medicine-men, *tabibs* and *tabib yunani*. A good example of the latter group comes from Kabul and may elucidate the role of the *atars*.

The most famous “medicine-man” in Kabul is *Qari Mohammad Sharif, tabib yunani*, a 76-year-old Uzbek born in Samarkand with a highly frequented and esteemed surgery visited by patients from all over Afghanistan. *Qari Mohammad Sharif* started his medical studies fifty years ago in Bochara, in the “academy” of Hadji Mohammad Amin-e Bochari, where he had five years training in traditional medicine. His surgery in Kabul employs 10 assistants plus one of his sons, who is training to become a *tabib yunani* after his father. *Qari Mohammad Sharif* has constant fights with the Ministry of Public Health of Afghanistan in order to retain his authorization to practise as a “doctor”. Most of the traditional drugs given as remedies to patients are made by the “doctor” himself and his assistant, and all the raw materials are bought from the local *atars*, who stock raw materials for the preparation of medicines from all parts of Afghanistan, China (!), Pakistan, India and Arabia. The *atars* themselves obtain their drugs from local people who collect herbs, and the imported drugs are bought from a special *saray* in Kabul. When the *tabib yunani* doesn't have the

¹ Vide GRAY, pp. 121-126 and SCHUYLER, vol. I, p. 180, both giving some information about the *atars*. A comprehensive account of Afghan folk-medicine is given by VOLK in *Planta Medica* 1955.

necessary herbs for making a remedy in his surgery he writes a prescription which the patient takes with him to the *atar*, who then prepares the medicine from his raw materials just as in an ordinary pharmacy.

The supply of raw materials to the *tabibs* and the preparation of remedies are the two most important functions of the *atars*. To this can be added that the *atar* often acts as a "doctor" himself, using his knowledge of traditional drugs. People go to the *atar*, describe their pains, the *atar* listens and then gives them a suitable "herb" or makes a special mixture, often imitating what he knows from the work of the *tabibs*. As the trade is mainly hereditary many of the *atars* have, through the generations, been trained in matters connected with drugs and have thus obtained a proper knowledge of their use in treating various sicknesses.

There are three *atars* in Tashqurghan, Ismael Ahraj and Noruddin on *Banjara* Street and Habibullah on Cloth Street. They are Tajiks, all married and have one wife each. All three have one *chagird* each; Habibullah and Noruddin have their sons and Ismael Ahraj has an adopted son.

Earlier there were specialized *rojan*-sellers in Tashqurghan as in all of northern Afghanistan. *Rojan* (*Rubia Tinctorum*) is used in madder-colouring but it has lost its importance nowadays, being challenged by imported colours. *Atar* Habibullah is today the only person selling *rojan* in the bazaar.

The *atars* of Tashqurghan sell no foreign "drugs" except some specimens from India.

Some of the *banjaras* also sell spices and "drugs" to a minor extent, these being normally found at the *atar*-shop.

There are no *tabibs* in Tashqurghan and only one of the *atars*, Ismael Ahraj, claims to have any knowledge of "Greek medicine"; he gives prescriptions and prepares some remedies by himself.

In addition there are three "chiropractors", *shekestaband*, and three snake-charmers, *marginir*, who perform some kind of traditional medicine. The snake-charmers work merely in their spare time; one of them is a seller of vegetable oil and two are blacksmiths.

The *Bazaz* and the *Karbaz*

Both the *bazaz* or *bazazfrus* and the *karbaz* or *karbazfrus* are cloth-sellers and the main difference between them is that the *bazaz* sells imported cloth while the *karbaz* sells almost solely locally manufactured cloth. Generally both of them sell material for making clothes, and do not usually sell ready-made products. Sometimes a *bazaz* or *karbaz* includes some clothes such as *chapans*, *chaderis*, etc., in his stock, but this is only to be regarded as a complementary business in the same way as any other seller who tries to earn extra money by varying his stock.

Economically the *bazaz* ranks higher than the *karbaz* because he earns more money and has a more expensive stock. His merchandise is imported from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan and India. People who want to have clothes tailored first buy the material from a *bazaz*, and then go to a tailor, or take the cloth home to have clothes made by some female in the family. Both groups supply local consumers and local craftsmen, such as cap-makers, *chapan*makers, etc., and the *bazaz* also sells metal thread for embroidery and decoration.

There is, however, a difference between the *bazaz'* in other parts of Afghanistan. Very often the people selling imported cloth are Sikhs or Hindus; this is the case in Kabul where they dominate the cloth market. They are numerous in Kandahar, Herat, Jalalabad and Mazar-e Sharif and even in small towns like Shibargan one finds several Sikhs/Hindus working as cloth merchants, but not in Tashqurghan where most of them are Tajiks/Uzbaks and a few are *Sayeeds*.

The *bazaz* buy their merchandise in Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif and they have no direct import of their own. The *kalafrus*, who sell imported ready-made clothes, are dependent on the *kalanthar-e bazazi*.

The specialized *chapan*-sellers, *chapanfrus*, are technically a sub-group of the *karbaz* with whom they share a *kalanthar*. The *chapans* are made outside the town of Tashqurghan in private manufacturing centres, the raw material being purchased from the *bazaz* in the bazaar. The *karbaz* also sell Pakistani turban cloth. The colouring of the local cloth is either done privately or by the cloth-dyers in the bazaar, *nilgar*.

All of the *karbaz* are Tajiks and Uzbaks.

In the bazaar of Tashqurghan there are altogether 43 *bazaz* and 17 *karbaz*.

The Cap-Seller

With very few exceptions all the cap-sellers, *kulafrus*, of Tashqurghan, operate in the Tim, which is the place of sale for caps (and shoes). As far as caps are concerned it is exclusively a selling bazaar. The making of caps, *kula*, has been comprehensively described by CENTLIVRES, but little information is given about the sellers themselves. First a brief introduction to the making of caps.

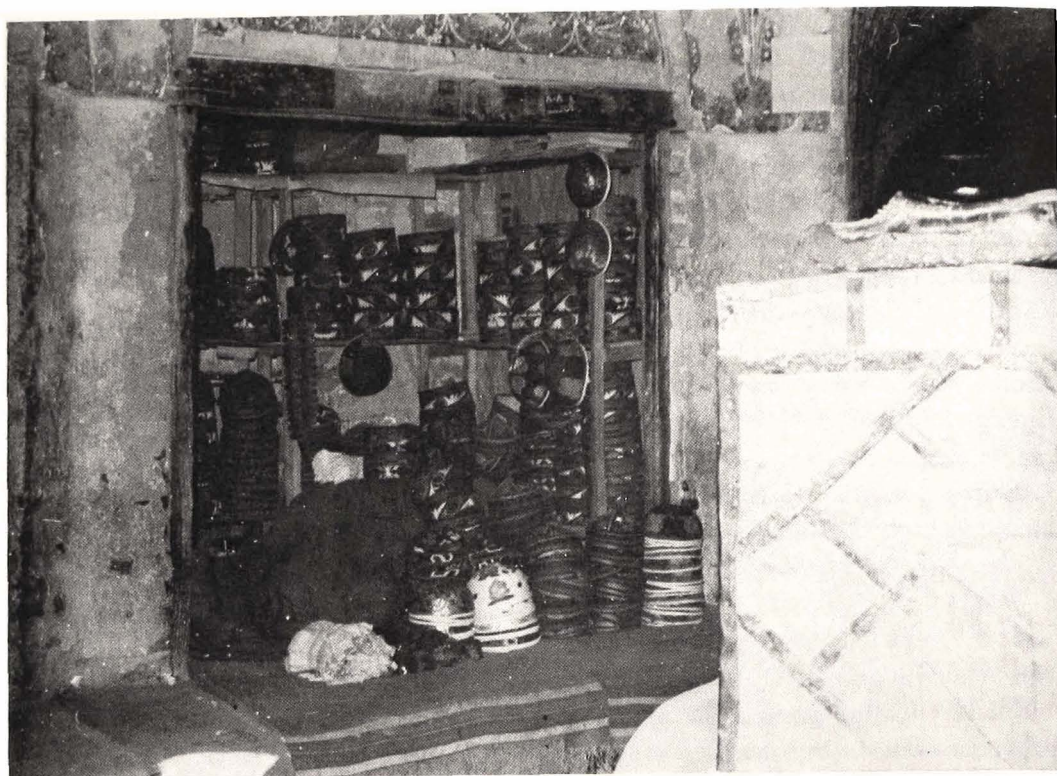
The caps, classified by CENTLIVRES as "conique, calotte, toque and mitre" (fig. 2 et passim) are made in private homes by women. These are generally brought by an elderly lady operating as a *dalal* to the Tim, for sale on market-days. ("... un travail féminin exécuté à domicile", CENTLIVRES, p. 43.)

Almost all caps are decorated or embroidered, *guldozi*, either by hand or machine, and the basic material is bought from the *karbazfrus*. The women making the caps receive from about 1/4 to 1/5 of the price charged for the cap by the seller (CENTLIVRES, p. 45); the prices of caps in the Tim range between 40 to 150 afghanis each, depending on type, material and decoration.

Some caps are sold to the *banjaras* on the Kabul-Mazar-e Sharif highway and some are bought by traders bringing them to the bazaars of Kabul and other towns.

There were in March 1972 19 cap-sellers in the Tim, but their shops are usually only open on market-days as many of them have other jobs apart from selling caps; some are teachers or involved in religious work but the majority are involved in agriculture. Some of the *kulafrus* also sell antiques (carpets, bands, textile work, Bokharan objects) on a small scale as a means of obtaining additional income.

In most cases the women making caps are *not* related to the cap-sellers and it is very seldom that women living in the cap-sellers' houses are involved in the manufacturing. This places the cap trade on a strictly business-like footing, with no ties of kindredship.



Tashqurghan: A cap-seller's shop in the Tim.

Another interesting fact is the social background of the cap-sellers. Most of them come from what can be described as the upper middle-classes, their fathers being businessmen, teachers, *mul-lahs*, land-owning farmers, gardeners, and a government official. Among the cap-sellers themselves there are several *hadjis*, a few of *sayeed*-origin and several with religious status, *qaris*, etc. Most of them are literate and some of them speak English.

Some other "Sellers"

There are other sellers in the bazaar of Tashqurghan who I will discuss briefly.

Wood-sellers, *chubfrus*, have two distinct categories of customers. They supply chiefly the local population with wood for burning purposes which they collect in the district. They also supply the local craftsmen, mostly wood-workers, who buy their raw material from them. Most of the wood is sold by weight.

Almond traders, *badamfrus*, enjoy a high social position as their trade involves large sums of money; they act as wholesalers, buying almonds *en masse* from the cultivators and reselling

them to Kabul for consumption within Afghanistan, or for export to India. All of the 9 almond traders live in Tashqurghan, being both Tajiks and Pashtoons. Most of them have their "offices" on Main Street and *Baqal* Street.

Vegetable-oil-sellers, *kunjarafrus*, about 25 in number, supply the oil of cotton, sesam and flax, which is sold by weight. The oil is manufactured in the surroundings of Tashqurghan where about 200 private oil-presses, *joaz-e tel*, are situated. Most of the *kunjarafrus* have their shops in the *Bazaar-e birun*, where oil is brought to them on market-days.

They share a *kalanthar* with the barbers.

Fodder-sellers, *bedafrus*, also situated in the *Bazaar-e birun* sell mostly hay and luzern. They share a *kalanthar* with the barbers.

Second-hand dealers, *kohnafrus* of which there are only two, operate in the *Bazaar-e birun*, where they sell used implements, old clothes, old saddles and other minor articles of low value. They also share a *kalanthar* with the barbers.

Flour-sellers, *ardfrus* or *alaf*, number about 35 in all. They operate entirely in the Flour *Saray*. Their main article is wheat but they also sell sorghum, maize, millet and corn, the latter being used only for animals and poor people who can't afford to buy wheat. The grain is ground in Tashqurghan and surroundings where there are about 50 mills, *asia*. An *ejaradar* supervises the Flour *Saray*, paying 35 000 afghanis yearly to the Municipality for his consession, *ejara*. Most of the flour-sellers are Tajiks and Uzbaks, a few are Pashtoons and one is an Arab.

Rice-sellers, *berenjfrus*, numbering about 25, operate almost entirely in the Rice *Saray*, where they sell five types of rice, all bought from Khanabad and Baghlan.¹ Some of them have lorries of their own for transporting the rice, others rent them, and most of them also sell rice *en gros* to rice-sellers in neighbouring villages. The Rice *Saray* is supervised by two *ejaradars* who together pay 48 000 afghanis yearly to the Municipality for the right to "supervise" the rice trade and 22 000 afghanis yearly to the owner of the *saray* for maintaing the position of *ejaradar*.

The Flour *Saray* and the Rice *Saray* are the two most expensive *sarays* for which to obtain *ejara* in Tashqurghan, due to their financial influence. To obtain *ejara* for a more "normal" *saray* in Tashqurghan usually costs between 4 000–10 000 afghanis yearly.

The *shiriakfrus* sell locally-made ice-cream and sherbet during the hot summer months and sheep's heads during the winter.

Sellers of fried fish, *mahipaz*, about ten in number, only work in the winter, selling fish in the *Bazaar-e birun* and close to the two streams crossing Main Street. All the fish comes from the river of Khulm and is fried outdoors in large frying-pans on open fires. The reason for only selling fish in winter-time is due to the lack of suitable storage in which to keep the fish during the summer. The same can also be observed in Kabul and Jalalabad.

There is, however, a slight resistance towards the consumption of fish all over Afghanistan and in recent years the Afghan Government has been trying to encourage people to eat fish, and has built a fish plant in Darunta outside Jalalabad.²

¹ Cf. FERDINAND in KUML 1959.

² See for example *Islah* 5/2-72, the Kabul Times 18/1, 5/2, 6/2-72.

The *mahipaz* don't have a *kalanthar*.

There are two pharmacies, *dawafirus*, in Tashqurghan, both situated on Main Street. They only supply foreign remedies bought from The Ministry of Public Health in Kabul or directly from agents of foreign medical companies.

The butchers, *qasab*, about 25 in all, are scattered all over the town. They sell mainly sheep's and camel's meat, but also cow, calf and goat.

The actual killing of the animals is carried out by the *sallakh*, four in number, with whom the butchers share a *kalanthar*. The *sallakh* receives the head, feet and waste products from each animal killed, as payment. In the summer the *sallakh* works in a secluded *saray* and during the winter at home. The animal to be killed is thrown on the ground with bound feet and the head facing The Holy Mecca. After saying *Allah akbar* the animal is killed with a large knife. During the whole procedure the *sallakh* is assisted by his *chagird*.

The Broker

The "brokers", *dalal*, constitute an important group in the Afghan bazaars. The "broker" having a registered trade is an agent who arranges business transactions in the bazaar.

Briefly: if a person wants to buy or sell an article he consults a *dalal* who finds a customer and arranges the deal, charging a fee for his services, *kamisan*.

Most of the *dalals* are men but some women are also involved in this kind of trade.

There are several types of *dalals*:

Dalal-e badam is an agent working with almonds. He is not an almond trader, *badamfrus*, but merely a person who locates a customer willing to buy almonds at a certain price.

Dalal-e pust arranges deals with hides for a fixed *kamisan*; he generally charges 4 afghanis for each hide in a deal.

Dalal-e bazaar can be described as an agent who deals with almost everything. He often sells carpets for people coming in to the bazaar on market-days with their home-made carpets and *klinis*. A man who wants to sell something contacts the *dalal-e bazaar*, shows him the articles and the *dalal* finds the customer and helps to fix the price. He has no fixed *kamisan*.

Dalal-e gosfandbazaar arranges the buying and selling of animals. He has permission from the *ejaradar* of the *gosfandbazaar* to work as *dalal* and he pays the *ejaradar* ten to twenty afghanis for each day he works in the *gosfandbazaar* plus as a rule ten percent of his own income. The *dalal-e gosfandbazaar* gets five to twenty afghanis for each animal sold/bought with his assistance.

Dalal-e motar collects passengers for the shared passenger cars which operate between towns and villages. His work is to stand beside the car and call out the destination and the number of places left.

In Tashqurghan they operate close to the highway, calling out for example "*Mazar, Mazar, se nafar!*" meaning that there is a car going to Mazar-e Sharif having three places left. When the car is full the *dalal* receives a *kamisan* from the driver. The *dalal-e motar* also arrange transportation of merchandise. If, for example, a person buys two sacks of almonds in the bazaar on a market-day

and wants them transported to Charikar he contacts a *dalal-e motar* who walks around in the *sarays* in order to find a lorry going to Charikar, which can take the sacks along.

There are also female *dalals*.

Women seldom visit the bazaar in order to buy things themselves. If a woman wants some jewellery, for example, she might send an old woman to the Silver Street, thus acting as *dalal* for her purchase of the desired pieces of jewellery.

In the same way female *dalals* also sell objects made at home (*kilmis*, caps, soap, etc.) on behalf of the female makers.

Social and Economic Aspects

This section lightly touches upon some aspects of social structure in the bazaar of Tashqurghan together with some economic features, especially the relationship between craftsmen and sellers, their financial situation and their methods of distributing their goods.

The Trade of Tashqurghan — a Historical Retrospect

Northern Afghanistan has been the meeting place of caravans and traders from the dawn of history. It must be kept in mind that the northern regions of what today is Afghanistan, popularly called “the crossroad of cultures”, has always been the scene of conquerors and changing regimes from the period of the early Aryans, the Graeco-Bactrians and Alexander the Great, the Yueh-chis, Kanishka, the Sassanids, the Islamic conquest, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, to the rivalry of the Uzbek Khanates in the last century and finally the shaping of modern Afghanistan 1884–1919.

The first important trade centre was Bactria,¹ “the Mother of the Cities”, which gained its reputation as a trade mart during the Graeco-Bactrian era, a few hundred years B.C.

Bactria had direct relations with both the Far East and the Mediterranean countries. All the great routes which crossed Asia met in ancient Bactria. One of these, starting from the Mauryan capital of Pataliputra on the Ganges ran across northern India to Mathura on the Jumna, Sagala (Sialkot), and Taxila to Alexandria-Capisa, south of the Hindu Kush, and from there over the mountains to Bactria. Another route ran from Bactria to Ecbatana (Hamadan), Selucia, Damascus and the Phoenician ports. A third route linked Bactria with Tibet and the vast Chinese empire.

Later on in history trade marts were established in several towns in this part of Central Asia, one of them being Tashqurghan, today a peaceful “village”, but once a busy commercial town on the famous legendary caravan route which is remembered as The Silk Route connecting Europe with the remote country of China.

The importance of Tashqurghan started with the caravan trade. To a large extent Tashqurghan

¹ Bactria is nowadays a ruined city just outside the modern Balkh about 20 kilometers from Mazar-e Sharif.

was created by the caravans and it is therefore necessary to take a quick look back at the old patterns of trade in order to understand the economic situation in today's Tashqurghan.

The traditional economy of Tashqurghan was once identical with the caravan trade and its importance/influence too big to be neglected.

YATE points out that,

Tashkurghan is the great trade mart of Afghan Turkistan, and about its most important place. Here the caravans from India on the one hand, and Bokhara on the other, all break bulk, and from here the merchandise is distributed all over the country. Nothing is obtainable at Mazar even, except through Tashkurghan (p. 315).

Today the situation is exactly the opposite. Most of the goods to Tashqurghan are obtained via Mazar-e Sharif and most of the imported merchandise from The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is imported and distributed from Mazar-e Sharif where also the customs, *gumruk*, for the border-province of Balkh is situated. A similar description of Tashqurghan and the caravan-trade is found in the Swedish traveller MOHN's account:

Tashqurghan has been, from ancient times, a trade-mart in the Central Asiatic traffic. The caravans from Persia to China used to stop here.¹ (translated from Swedish by C-J.C.).

The same is stated by BURNES:

At Khooloom, which is a mart between Yarkund, Bokhara and Cabool, the ponies are exchanged for camels, and the load of two horses is borne by one camel to Bokhara (p. 438).

and by YULE:

Several roads converge from various parts at Tashkurghan, which is the centre of trade from eastern, northern, and southern Asia (p. 452).

The caravan trade to Yarkand (tea trade) is briefly described by MOORCRAFT (vol. II, pp. 450-451) and the trade to Bokhara by WOOD who remarks that nearly 200 000 pieces of fur were exported yearly from Tashqurghan to Bokhara (p. 266).

Goods from Bokhara, Turkestan, etc. were brought by caravans via Tashqurghan to the bazaars of Kabul, where they were sold and/or transported further on to India.

All the commercial activities were focused on Kabul and its busy bazaars, this being one of the largest trade centres in Central Asia.

ELPHINSTONE remarked that

The caravans to Toorkistaun are all on horses or poneys, ... Caubul is the great mart of the independent Toorkistaun (p. 293).

and

The principal trade of the kingdom of Caubul is with India, Persia and Toorkistaun. (Independent and Chinese) (p. 294).

¹ Tasjkorgan som sedan urminnes tider varit en knutpunkt i den centralasiatiska trafiken. Karavanerna från Persien till Kina brukade här göra uppehåll (p. 85).

In Charikar all goods to and from Turkestan had to be declared at the customs and the bazaar of Charikar traded with both sides of the Hindu Kush (MASSON, vol. III, pp. 125–126; YULE, p. 445). BURNES gives a list of “articles, mostly Russian, found in the Bazaar of Cabool, and brought to it from Bokhara”, being goods transported on the caravan route, and which most likely had to pass Tashqurghan:

“Ducats*, tillas*, sooms*, yamoos*, gold-dust*, pistols, muskets, gun-locks, pad-locks, knives, razors, wire of iron and brass, copper*, Russian boxes, snuff-boxes, needles, glass-spectacles, mirrors, porcelain, flints, beads*, corals*, fishbone*, paper, tea, saleb missree, kunson (a kind of leather), kirmiz* or cochineal, bluestone or sulphate of copper, iron trays, kullabuttoo two kinds*, sungot*, broadcloth, chintz, velvet, attas (satin), khoombaft, shija, koitan or muslin, nanka*, white cloth, handkerchiefs (silken), chuppun kord, silk of Bokhara and Koondooz” (BURNES, 1842, p. 301). (The items marked with an asterisk were further exported on to India.)

ELPHINSTONE in his chapter on trade lists the following articles as the most important merchandise imported from and via Bokhara; to Kabul:

The principal of the imports are horses, gold, and silver. The latter, consist of tillas (the gold coin of Bokhara), Dutch ducats, Venetian sequins, and yamboos (or ingots of silver from China). Cochineal, broad cloth, purpet, and tinsel, together with cast iron pots, cutlery, and other hard ware, are imported from Bokhara; to which place they are brought from Russia ... Needles, looking glasses, Russian leather, tin beads, spectacles, and some other trifling European articles, are also, brought by the same route. Oormuk, a fine cloth made of camel’s wool, a quantity of cotton, and some lamb skins, are imported from the Bokhara country itself; as are a few of the twohumped camels from the Kuzzauk country (p. 295).¹

Kabul itself exported, according to ELPHINSTONE, these articles to the northern regions:

The exports to independent Toorkistaun, consist chiefly of articles previously imported from India, or made in the Indian provinces of Caubul. White cloth of all kinds, shawls, Indian turbans, Moultaun chintz, and indigo, are the chief of them (p. 295).

and

The exports to Chinese Toorkistaun are nearly the same as those to Bokhaura. The imports are woollens of a particular kind, Chinese silk, and satin, tea, in small boxes of thin lead, china, porcelain, raw silk, cochineal, crystal, gold dust, golden ingots, and yamboos of silver, with the Chinese stamp (p. 296).

Some travellers *after* ELPHINSTONE also noted that Russian products were brought to Bokhara and transported all over Turkestan as far as to Kabul and Kandahar; some of the most important Russian articles were cast iron products, brass and cloth (VAMBERY, pp. 426–427), while Bokhara itself, which had a covered specialized bazaar, manufactured for export items such as *aladja* (a type of cloth), silk, leather, paper and carpets (VAMBERY, p. 365 and pp. 422–424).

According to VAMBERY (1864) the most important product exported from Kabul to Bokhara was turban-cloth (p. 429), while the major articles from Turkestan were fur, wool, fruit and *rojan* (p. 428).

¹ Cf. HAMILTON, p. 30.

YULE also notes the export of *lapis* from the northern provinces of Afghanistan, which found its way to Bokhara, Russia and China (p. 444), as well as to ancient Iran, Ur, Iraq, Egypt and Elam (KOHZAD, p. 2). Kabul exported to India according to ELPHINSTONE

The exports to India are principally horses and poneys, furs, shawls, Mooltaun chintz, madder, *assa foetida*, tobacco, almonds, Pistachio nuts, walnuts, hazel nuts, and fruits (p. 294).

and Kabul imported from India:

The imports from India are coarse cotton cloth, ... muslins, and other fine manufactories, some sorts of silken cloth and brocade, indigo (in great quantities, ivory, chalk, bamboos, wax, tin, sandal wood, and almost all the sugar which is used in the country ... Musk, coral, drugs ... spices of all kinds ... (p. 294).

Finally ELPHINSTONE also mentions the export of horses from Turkestan (pp. 296–297).

According to Russian sources quoted by BABAKODZHAYEV in his account of the Russo-Afghan trade at the end of the last century, Afghanistan's major exports to Russia consisted of "oilseeds, silk cocoons, felt goods, carpets, hides and skins, rice, wheat, barley" (p. 33), while the principal imports to Afghanistan from Russia were "cotton, silkware, woollen goods, matches, sugar, kerosene, glassware and cast-iron goods, porcelain, and Delft-ware, paper, thread, medical goods, tin, lead, wrought iron, steel, copper, leather" (ibid.).

HAMILTON remarks that:

Indeed, articles imported into Afghanistan from Moscow, Merv, Bokhara and Samarkand figure in every bazaar in the Herat and Afghan Turkestan provinces (p. 295).

MOHAN LAL (1846) observed that:

The caravans of Boukhara and Kabul, which in summer pass successively to Khulm, have rendered it very populous and rich; the former usually bring Russian articles, and the latter, goats' skins of Kabul, and Indian commodities. Large pieces of stamped silver, which are brought to Khulm by the Yarkand caravan, are sent to the mints of Kabul and Boukhara, where they are coined (pp. 98–107).

HARLAN (1939) remarks that:

Tash Khoorgaun is the grand thoroughfare, and has been so during many years, for karrovans passing and repassing between northern Asia and India. It is the last general mart before entering the range of Hindoo Kush and the natural boundary between the Uzbecks and the Avghauns (p. 39).

Finally the ancient trade of Tashqurghan is briefly noticed by RYBITSCHKA (1927) "Jedenfalls scheint aber Tashkurghan an Verkehrsbedeutung gegen früher verloren zu haben" (p. 183), and in the *Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, "Mazar is said now to be the centre of a considerable trade with Russian territory, having absorbed the former trade of Tashkurghan" (vol. II, p. 127).

These last two notes showing the decline of the trade of Tashqurghan and the rise of Mazar-e Sharif as a commercial centre are dated 1927 and 1907, respectively.

In the antique shops of Kabul (and also to a minor extent in other Afghan towns) one can today (1970–1972) still find old objects which were once brought to Afghanistan by the caravans. Most common are items from Bokhara and Russia, such as: Russian brass *samovars* (most of them made in Tula), tinned copper *samovars* from Bokhara, Russian porcelain and tea-pots (among them

“Gardner-porcelain”), Russian and Bokharan gold coins, Bokharan silver coins, pre-revolutionary Russian bank-notes, coral and beads, Bokharan brass-work often heavily decorated, such as water-pipes, ewers, powder-horns and various bowls, embroidered Bokharan cloth and silk, some weapons, carpets, traditional Turcman silver jewellery with mounted agates and inlaid gold, etc.

The objects from China are rare today and slightly harder to find. Most common is Chinese porcelain, especially tea-bowls, but I have also seen nice specimens of *Famille Vert* and *Famille Jaune* together with a few celadon objects of the Sung dynasty (1972), big Chinese silver coins, and on one occasion two antique Chinese carpets (1972) for sale in the antique-shops.¹

Objects from Persia and “Hindustan” are much rarer, except some items from the Peshawar-region.

In Tashqurghan, however, there are very few remainders of the caravan trade left to be seen today. Very few objects brought to Afghanistan by the caravans are sold in the shops, although some of the *banjaras* and cap-sellers keep a small stock of antiques in order to make some extra money; the only things offered to people passing by are some cloth and embroidery from Bokhara and old Russian porcelain.

The only visible things in Tashqurghan of today which remind one of its once important and busy trade are the decorations with old Chinese porcelain saucers in the roof of the Tim, the numerous caravan-*sarays* and the stories told by old caravan traders over a bowl of green tea in the tea-houses of the bazaar.²

Distribution of Goods and Modern Methods of Trade

The multi-national economic importance of Tashqurghan as a trade mart of Turkestan belongs to the history of Central Asia. The caravans loaded with merchandise from China and Russia-Bokhara and with remote destinations have ceased decades ago, replaced by lorries, cars, and aircraft. The old traders have been superseded by modern merchants using new methods in trade and Tashqurghan has lost its function in international trade. Tashqurghan, however, is still a commercial town but its trade is nowadays focused only on a national market with no direct relationship with its old trading-partners.

Shopkeepers, traders and craftsmen dominate the town and the old tradition of commerce is still carried out, though in a different context, following new patterns.

Today the international transports, i.e. the imports and exports of Afghanistan, are maintained mostly by lorries and air-crafts. All imported goods go either directly to Kabul or directly to those provinces which have customs, from whence it is distributed all over the country by private enterprises or state monopolies after taxation.

¹ IVEN observed Chinese carpets for sale in the bazaar of Faizabad, p. 117.

² The trade of this part of Central Asia has been exhaustively treated by, among others, VAMBERY (pp. 407-429), RATHJENS, BABAKODZHAYEV, HAMILTON, SCHUYLER.

One of the most important international transport routes goes through The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the border town Termez, from whence goods are brought to the northern border provinces of Afghanistan. This route serves both Russian and European exports to Afghanistan.

The imported goods are further distributed to traders who re-sell to local shopkeepers.

The domestic distribution of goods is more complex and shows a great variety of means of transportation. Most transportation within the country, both of imported and locally manufactured goods is taken care of by a network of lorries, vans and tractors and to a minor degree also by domestic airlines, public buses and cars. The caravans which were once the universal mode of transportation for both domestic and foreign trade still play an important role in the distribution of goods at a local level, where, especially in rural areas, camels and donkeys are widely used as beasts of burden.

In Tashqurghan itself, besides camels and donkeys, the transportation is taken care of by two types of carts, *gadis*, for passengers and minor amounts of goods, and *karachis*, only for goods.

The exchange of goods at a domestic level follow three basic patterns:

1. Exchange directly between producer and consumer.
2. Exchange between producer, local merchant and consumer.
3. Exchange through a network of intermediaries roughly following this pattern: A trader comes to Tashqurghan and purchases goods from the local merchants or producers/craftsmen. He takes the merchandise to bazaars situated in other parts of the country where the goods pass to consumers via merchants buying the trader's articles.

The first pattern is most easily observed among the craftsmen who sell their products directly to local consumers in their workshops. Pattern two concerns most of the retailers such as *baijara*, *baqal*, cap-seller, etc. operating as intermediaries between producer and consumer.

The third pattern is harder to examine as these intermediaries/traders do not constitute a homogenous group of traders and can not be studied as a single group of professionals.

In Afghanistan, trade is not restricted to a limited number of specialists but is open to everyone, engaging several groups of people, though at different levels. Moreover, trade is not restricted to certain ethnical groups, traders being found in almost all social groups, regardless of status. Almost anybody with an interest in business transactions and with a little capital can indulge in some kind of trade, either as a full-time profession or as a means of supplementing their income.

Thus the traders can be divided into two basic groups, *fullscale merchants* and *occasional traders*.

Fullscale merchants can be importers, wholesalers trading *en masse*, *jelab*, buyers, shopkeepers and local retailers, or a combination of all these. All the fullscale merchants differ with regard to the amount of capital they can invest in business and the profession includes all types of merchants, from rich importeurs of Indian silk to small-scale street peddlers. They have as a common denominator the fact that they all operate on a full-scale with various types of trade and have no subsidiary professions.

They can be involved in international trade, domestic trade or both, and they are true intermediaries between producer and consumer, supplying shopkeepers with merchandise or acting as the shopkeeper retailing on a small scale to local consumers.

They have no manufacturing of their own and earn their living almost exclusively from buying and selling.

To this can be added another group of merchants together forming a *shirkat* defined by FRANCK (1955) as a joint-stock company (p. 156) regulating, for example, the trade with cotton, *karakul*, fruit, etc.

For the *occasional traders* trade is a subsidiary profession which is carried out besides the regular work as a "spare-time occupation", giving a complementary income. It can be either a permanent or periodic occupation, and occasional traders are numerous. As a rule they all operate on small scale basis.

The typical occasional trader is a man who regularly or sporadically goes on a trading expedition, buys as much merchandise as he can afford and then returns to sell it at a profit.

Occasional traders often pass by Tashqurghan. They come with the cheap regular busses between Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif, stop at the highway shops or go down to the bazaar, buying for example some wooden cradles, a few dozen knives, some caps and a sack of ropes with which they return to Kabul, selling the objects from small stands in the bazaar. Other occasional traders go further into Turkestan in order to buy carpets and *kilims*, which are sold in the bazaars of Kabul, while others trade in butter and furs with the nomads. Hundreds of similar examples could be given, but the above must suffice.

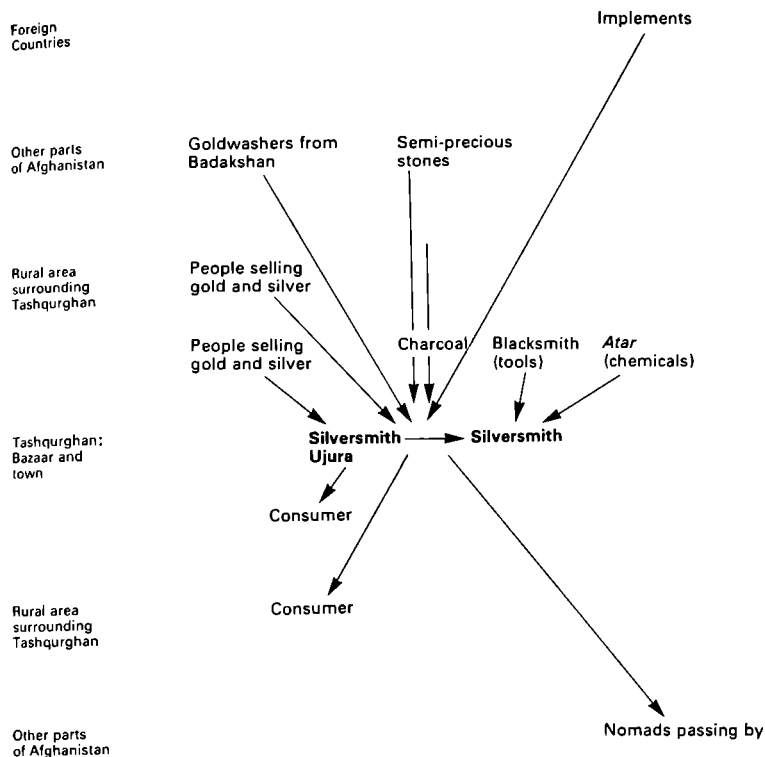
Occasional traders are involved mostly in domestic trade but also to some extent internationally. People who travel often bring with them a small quantity of goods, which they sell during their journey. Afghans going to India often take a *ser* of almonds with them which is sold at a large profit and in return they bring various Indian articles back to Afghanistan.

A special type of trade is carried out by the *hadjis*, i.e. the pilgrims to the Holy Mecca. The enormous impact of the *hadjis* as agents in cultural diffusion has been, as far as I know, totally neglected by ethnographers.

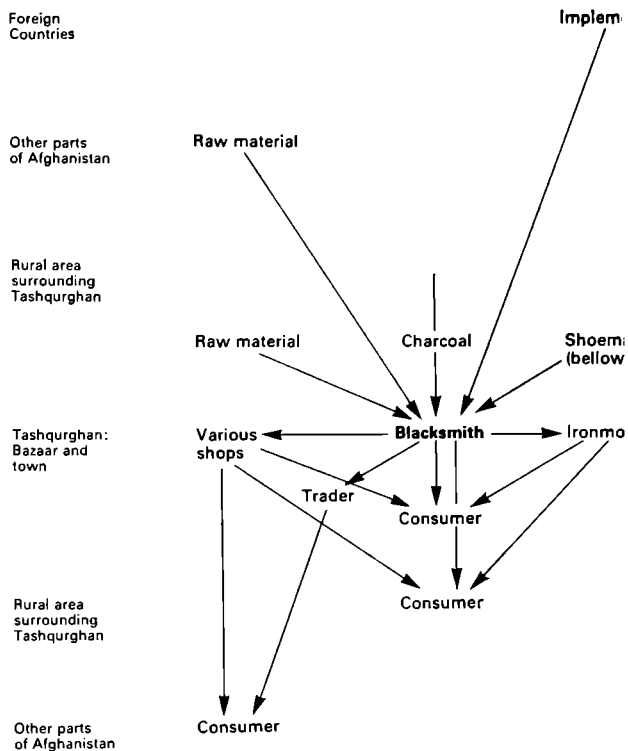
From all parts of Afghanistan, as well as from other Islamic countries, people go on *hadj*, bringing back new ideas when they return. As the *hadj* is quite expensive many *hadjis* bring with them merchandise which they sell on their way to Mecca to pay some of the travelling expenses. On their return from Mecca they take with them not only objects of religious value but also proper merchandise. A trivial example will elucidate the situation. During *Id* 1972 several *hadjis* from Kabul brought with them furs and handicraft for sale; in Dawlatabad-e Balkh I found in a *banjara*-shop a sack of Arabian candy from Jeddah which the *banjara* had purchased from a returning *hadji*.

The following diagrams show how goods are distributed to, from and within the bazaar of Tashqurghan. They show the network between producer and consumer, how the craftsmen obtain their materials etc. Some of the craftsmen of Tashqurghan distribute their products outside Tashqurghan while others serve chiefly a local market.

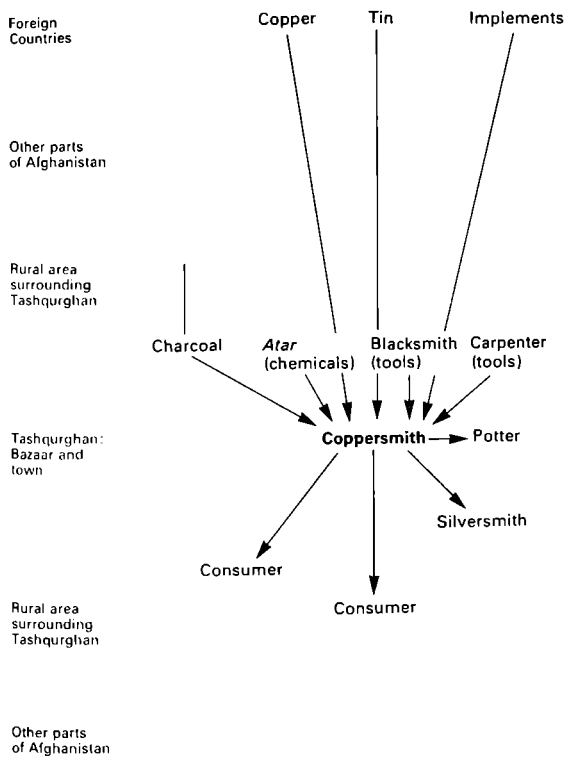
The Silversmith



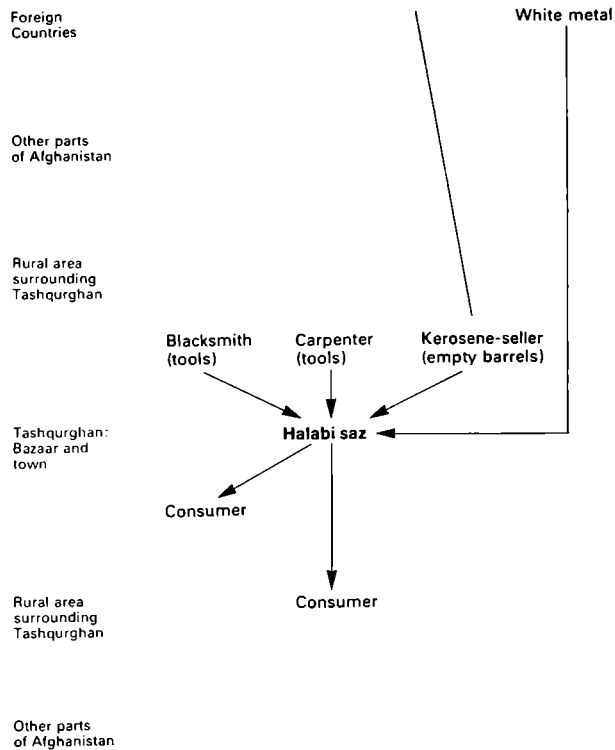
The Blacksmith



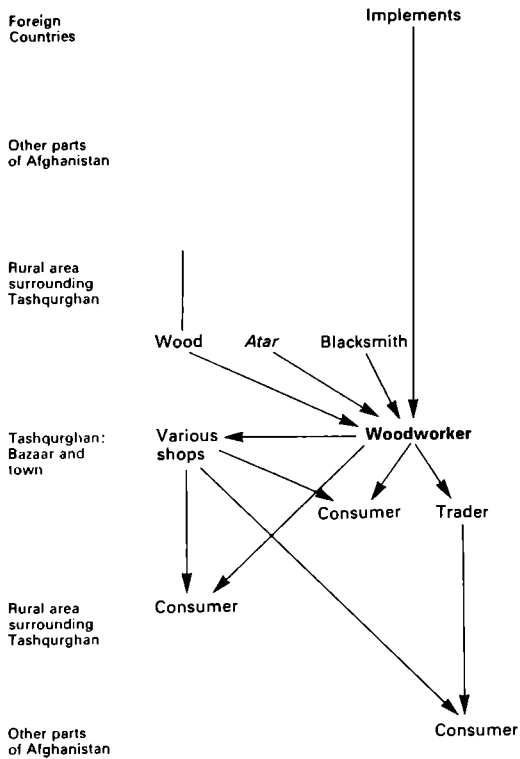
The Coppersmith



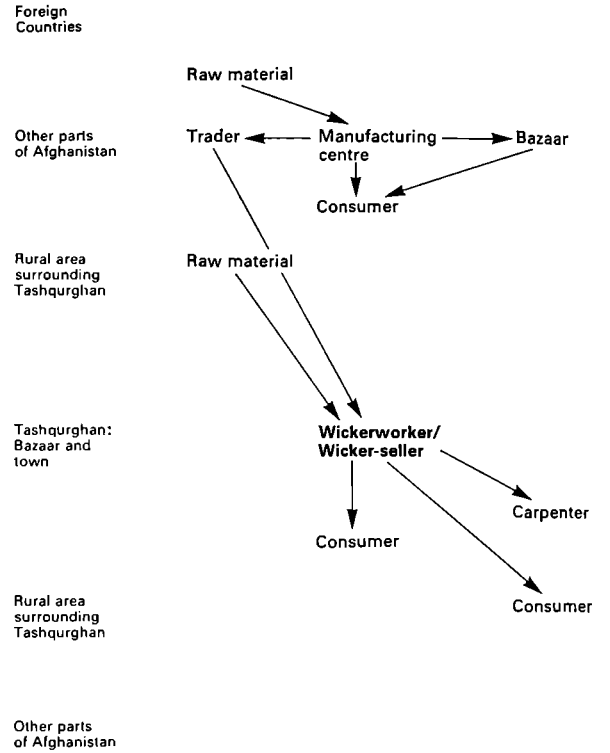
The Halabi saz



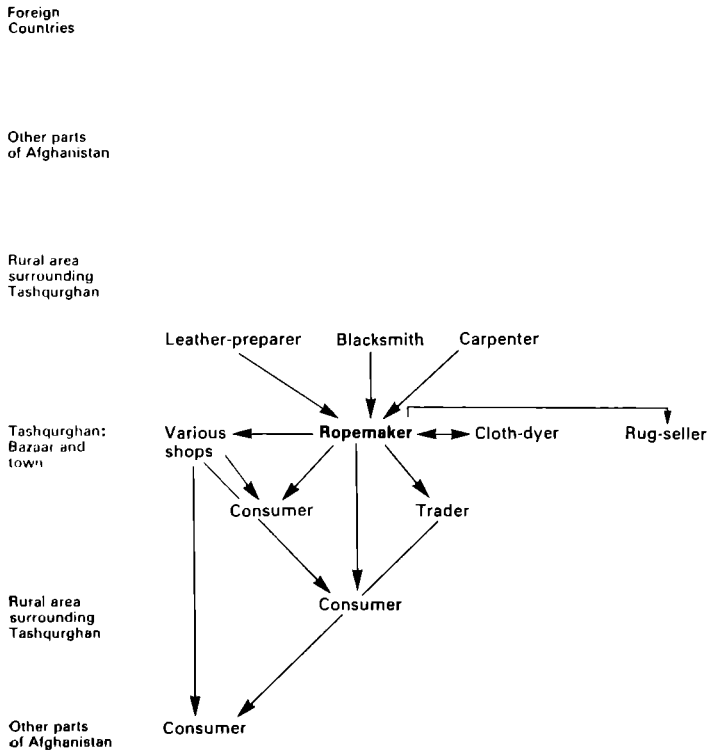
The Woodworker



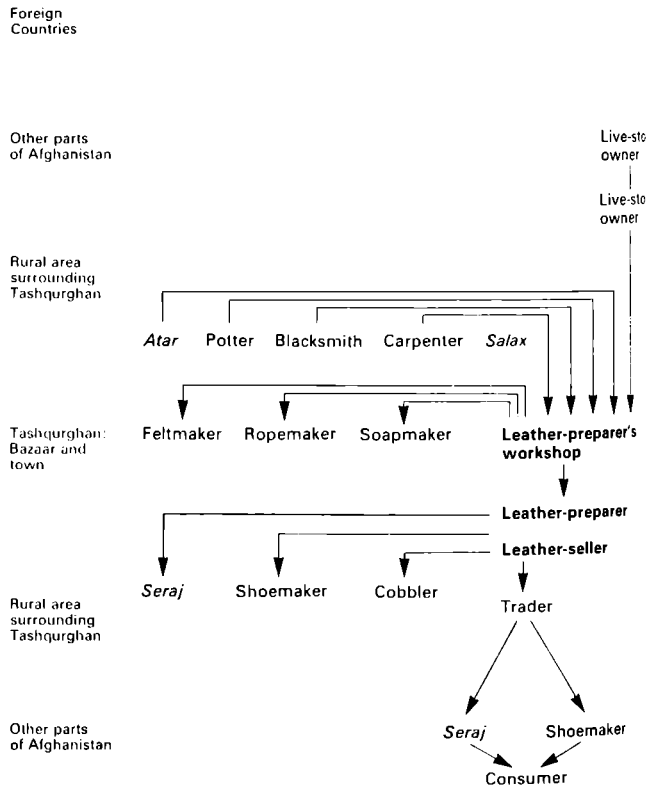
The Wickerworker/seller



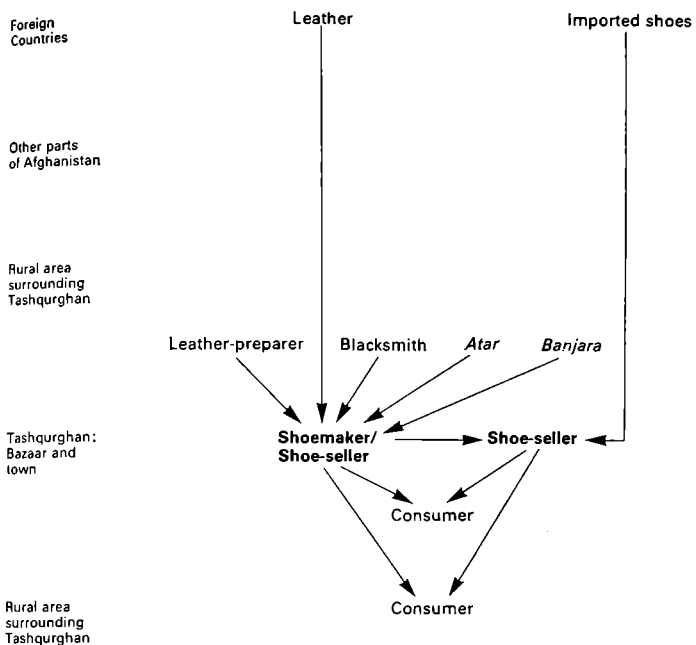
The Ropemaker



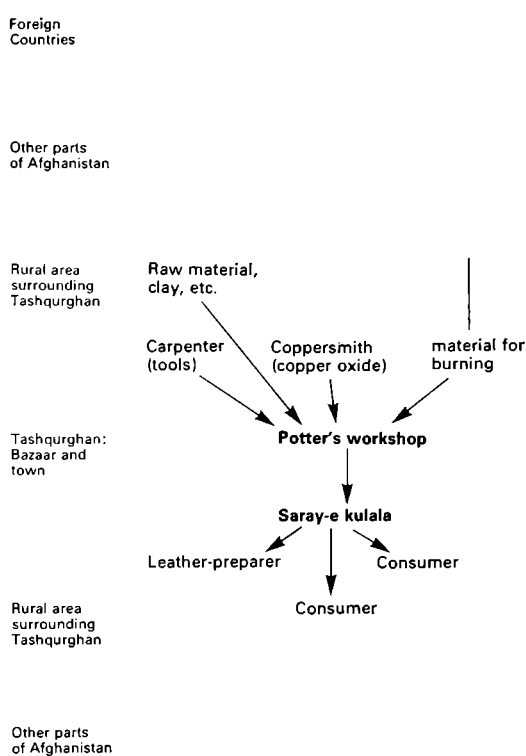
The Leatherworkers



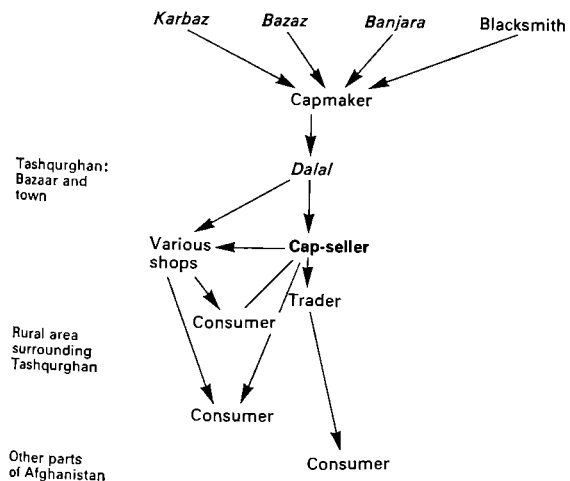
The Shoemaker/seller



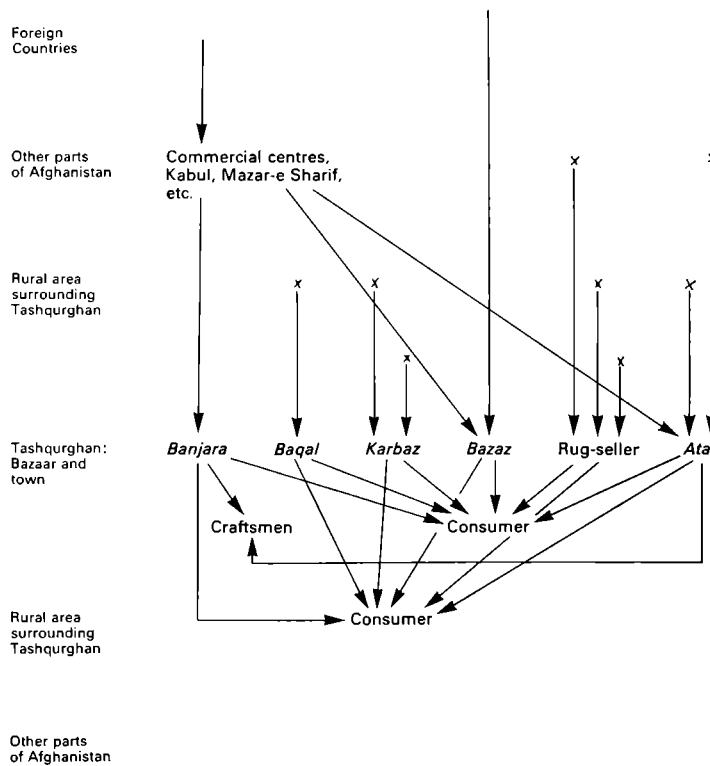
The Potter



The Cap-seller



Some Sellers



x origin of product/merchandise

Craftsmen serving both a local and an outside market are: Woodworkers, ropemakers, blacksmiths, all types of leatherworkers, capmakers. Craftsmen serving mostly a local market are: Silversmiths, coppersmiths, potters, wickerworkers and *halabi saz*.

Most of the sellers serve only a local market, i.e. Tashqurghan and neighbouring areas. Exceptions are cap-sellers, shoe-sellers, leather-sellers, almond traders and fur traders, their merchandise being distributed to other parts of Afghanistan.

Development and Change in the Bazaar

The bazaar of Tashqurghan is no longer the great trade mart of Turkestan it once used to be. Today the bazaar is characterised by rapid decline due to extensive changes which have taken place in Afghanistan during the last few decades.

Several crafts have entirely disappeared. Gone are the proper caravan traders, the Jewish silk-traders and the Hindu money-lenders and businessmen. Gone are also the moneychangers, *saraf*, who used to operate in the Tim. These groups were the first to disappear as the caravan trade gradually lost its importance. Among the real crafts there are no longer any moulders, *rikhtagar*, gun-smiths, *tofangsaz*, cloth-printers, *chitgar*, *pustin*- (=fur-coat)embroiderers, *pustinduz*, gun-powdermakers, *darukobi*, chagrin-leather preparers, *kemukhtgar*, and special leatherworkers, *chigelsaz*.

Several crafts are declining and on the verge of dying out. In this group we can include *pathragars*, coppersmiths, to some extent silversmiths, potters, *serajs*, ropemakers, *nilgars* and makers of traditional shoes. Some groups remain constant, such as blacksmiths, woodworkers, leather-preparers, *halabi saz*, all types of repairers, barbers, *banjaras*, *baqal*, *karbaz*, rug-sellers, wickerworkers, shoe-makers, etc. Among these prosperity seems to be most apparent among leather-preparers, blacksmiths and woodworkers.

On the other hand a few new crafts have invaded the traditional bazaar. Unquestionably new are *halabi saz*, *satsaz*, *radiosaz*, *baisikelsaz*, and *dawafrus*.

The reasons for the decline of certain crafts can be briefly listed thus:

1. Lack of money among the consumers.
2. Increasing import and accessibility to foreign products which are often (a) cheaper, (b) easier to keep, clean and use, (c) more "fashionable" due to the degree of Westernization, and (d) better suited for the purpose.
3. Some articles are no longer necessary.

A few examples

Factor 1 affects all crafts to some extent but especially coppersmiths, silversmiths and those making/selling objects having a cheaper alternative.

Factor 2; (a) an aluminium bowl is cheaper to buy than a copper one; (b) a metal tea-pot is easier to keep/transport than a porcelain one; plastic bowls are easier to clean; (c) in some groups a western suit is considered more appropriate than a *perhantomban*; (d) an aluminium bowl is better

suiting for cooking purposes than one made of copper; rubber boots are better in rainy weather than traditional leather boots smeared with fat.

Factor 3. With the increasing use of cars/lorries etc., several of the special items manufactured for horses, donkeys, etc., will gradually lose their importance.

In 1346 S.H. the mayor's office in Khulm made the following list of the various professions found in Tashqurghan. The list below is an exact translation of the document:

Blacksmith	Tea-seller	Cloth-dyer	<i>Halabi saz</i>
Coppersmith	Rice-seller	Potter	Radio repairer
Silversmith	Cap-seller	Rug-seller	Application writer
Leather-preparer	Sugar-seller	<i>Kababmaker</i>	Travel-car agent
Woodworker	Kerosene-seller	<i>Pathragar</i>	Broker
Tailor	Photographer	Cobbler	<i>Karakultrader</i>
Shoemaker	Snuff-seller	Bootmaker	Sheep and goat hide trader
Ropemaker	Horse-shoe fitter	<i>Atar</i>	Almond trader
<i>Paizarmaker</i>	Chainsmith	Icecream-seller	Melon trader
Carpet knitting	<i>Seraj</i>	Baker	Flour-seller
Mason	Wicker-seller	<i>Karbaz</i>	Pharmacy
Farming	Fish-seller	<i>Chapan-seller</i>	Innkeeper
Rug-weaving	Donkey cover maker	Barber	Cart-rider
<i>Bazaz</i>	Not readable	Restaurant keeper	<i>Gadidriver</i>
<i>Banjara</i>	Not readable	Candy-seller	Gardener
Ironmonger	Leather-seller	Tea-house keeper	Workers
China-seller	Leather-preparer	Soap-seller	Shepherds
<i>Baqal</i>	(= shoe + bootleather)	Battery-charger	Car driver
Flour-seller	Straw and hay-seller	Bookbinder	Not readable
Butcher	Wood and charcoal-seller	Suitcase-maker	Not readable

At my request the mayor's office in Khulm made the following list of the number of tax-paying shops in Tashqurghan based on previous statistics from the mayor's records. The list was made in March 1972.

20 Silversmiths	6 Leatherworkers	30 Butchers	142 <i>Banjaras</i>
50 Coppersmiths	35 Leather-preparers	18 Cobblers	1 Bookbinder
60 Woodworkers	34 Shoemakers	51 Cloth-sellers	9 Pocket-knife makers
25 Blacksmiths	18 Ropemakers	6 Cloth-dyers	35 Candy-sellers
40 Knife and locksmiths	140 <i>Baqals</i>	8 Spec. shoemakers	55 Bakers
9 Potters	9 Horse-shoe makers		

The list is not complete but it shows the only available figures in the official records and it comprises both craftsmen working in the Central Town Bazaar and in private manufacturing centres. As the statistics are a few years old it is interesting because it shows, compared with the situation of today, the decline in three specific crafts namely, silversmiths, *serajs* and coppersmiths, which is due to the economic pressure of the last two or three years. A similar reduction can also be observed in several other trades/crafts.

The Transformation of Material Culture

The material culture in a traditional “cross-road society” like Tashqurghan tends to be more eclectic than in an isolated community.

HERSKOVITS (1945) pointed out that “The closer a people live to a ‘crossroads’ of humanity, the more varied their cultural resources will be” (p. 157).

In this sense following BROOM (1954), Tashqurghan can be regarded as a “soft-shelled” community. Being a “soft” structure it can absorb a large quantity of new elements and still keep much of its basic concepts and values, whereas its opposite, the “hard-shelled” community might break down by the constant pressure of new/foreign cultural traits (p. 978).

Tashqurghan has not lost its identity and has resisted the influences of other societies by adopting and integrating new concepts into its own setting, thus avoiding a cultural conflict which could have been the result of long-standing contact with other cultures.

One must not believe the material culture in a traditional society to be static, but variable, constantly receiving new stimuli and thus undergoing a slow but clearly visible change. This change does not affect the shapes of objects as much as it affects material, function and decoration.

Thus if one wants to examine the change in material culture one should not expect to find the basic shapes subject to other than minor alterations, but rather a change in material and details. The traditional shapes of objects are to a large extent the same as they were hundreds of years ago, but the material might be new, the decoration changed by simplification, a new function might be applied to the object and the way of manufacturing it might have been subject to change.¹

Primarily Tashqurghan received its cultural influences not only from the ancient caravan trade but also from *hadjis* and other travellers. When the days of the caravan trade were over the new influences from the outer world were mainly introduced by the recently extended systems of communication such as radio, newspapers and better roads. In particular one should mention the Salang Highway, which now facilitates people’s visits to Kabul and southern Afghanistan, these being quite difficult before the highway was completed. The Salang Highway linking the countries north and south of the Hindu Kush together thus serves as a true channel of cultural diffusion. In this context the efforts to make a new school system combined with the possibilities of obtaining higher education within Afghanistan must also be mentioned.

Let us first examine the changes in material culture from a purely materialistic side.

There are traditional materials such as iron, copper, silver, clay, wood, leather, etc. and new materials such as “white-metal”, plastic, steel, aluminium, rubber, etc. The new materials are closely combined with the re-use idea already observed in 1930 by MOHN (pp. 350–351) and in 1932 by MARKOWSKI (p. 147).

From the materialistic point of view we can find the following mode of production:

Traditional material → traditional products (copper jugs, portable wash-stands, clay pots, wooden cradles, *paizar*, silver bracelets, woven objects, etc.)

¹ This can be easily elucidated by comparing fig. 1: 33706 with fig. 3: 33773 in DEMONT/CENTLIVRES, as well as by comparing DEMONT/CENTLIVRES fig. 3: 33725/33724 with my own figs. on p. 94–98.

Traditional material → new products (certain types of clothes, various repairing jobs, etc.)

New material → traditional products (white-metal jugs, all types of *halabi saz*-work, rubber shoes, etc.)

New material → new products (*bokharis*, some types of shoes and clothes, etc.)

The most important materialistic changes are probably the technique of re-using new materials and objects and the introduction of cheaper materials which are also easier to work upon, especially white-metal. Another important fact, which I will return to later, is that the actual change of material, i.e. the manufacturing of a traditional object with a new material, is often the result of financial changes and lack of money among the consumers. In these cases the traditional shape is usually preserved.¹

The preservation of traditional shape can be further illustrated with two examples:

Modern aluminium bowls for household purposes tend to keep the same shape as the traditional ones.

And finally, a more drastic illustration. Once when travelling through Afghan Turkestan I noticed some old village people combing themselves. The combs were made of brightly coloured plastic but were exactly the same shape and size as the ancient-looking traditional wooden combs obtainable in almost every bazaar!

The study of material culture and its changes can be used as a gauge of economical change.

A sudden economical change whether positive or negative reflects itself not only on the financial activities in the society, but also on the material culture itself.

In a rural society like Tashqurghan agricultural prosperity affects and gives surplus wealth to several groups: farmers, day-workers, traders, sellers in the bazaar, blacksmiths, etc. Thus it does not only increase the activities of some crafts but also the number of products, while financial difficulties and scarcity of money directly reduces the activities of the same groups as well as it “simplifies” their manufactures.

When money is more plentiful it is immediately seen in the bazaar. The silversmiths sell more ornaments, there is a demand for gold work and the silversmiths can afford to make more artistic jewellery as they know that there are people capable of buying it. People can afford to buy the coppersmith’s articles and the coppersmith himself can make richly decorated and more expensive pieces. More caps are sold in the Tim, the *bazaz* sells imported cloth, the tailors are busy and there is an air of prosperity in the bazaar. On the other hand, during times of financial difficulties, several shops in the bazaar will be closed. Many of the silversmiths will close down and those who continue to work will make simple ornaments, using silver of low quality, no gold, and coloured glass instead of semiprecious stones. The coppersmith’s objects will not be in demand and people will sell their house-hold objects of copper-ware because they can’t afford to have them, etc.

Instead of buying “traditional objects of traditional material” people will buy “traditional objects of new material” because they are cheaper.

¹ The preservation of traditional shapes is thus mentioned by GRAY with an example from the coppersmiths

in Kabul: “The shapes are all those made by their fathers and forefathers; there is no new design invented” (p. 71).

Thus many traditional objects have locally manufactured alternatives, which are cheaper to purchase, as well as often cheap imported alternatives which present a price challenge to the "originals".

The diagram below will illustrate this.

Traditionally manufactured objects	Locally manufactured cheaper alternatives	Imported cheaper alternatives
Copper jug	White-metal jug/ clay jug	Aluminium jug/ plastic jug
Copper bowl etc.	White-metal bowl/ clay bowl	Aluminium bowl/ plastic bowl
Silver bracelet etc.	White-metal bracelet	Plastic bracelet
Leather shoe	Shoe made of rubber from worn out tires	Imported shoe
Knitted prayer-rug	Woven-rug (<i>kilim</i>)/ wicker rug	Machine-made Pakistani carpet

The *banjaras* will sell more imported plastic bowls and ornaments, the *halabi saz* and the potter will furnish objects of white-metal and clay as cheaper alternatives to copper products and the *karbaz* will be more prosperous than the *bazaz*. The objects manufactured by the various craftsmen tend to be simpler, without elaborate decorations and often more roughly made. There will be few caps sold in the Tim and the whole bazaar will be affected by poverty.

An economical decline which negatively affects some groups of craftsmen will have a positive effect on those who make/supply alternative products. (As I have previously mentioned: Bad times for coppersmiths=good times for *halabi saz*.)

But naturally enough there are certain standard items which are always in demand (agricultural implements, etc.) and thus not directly affected by the economical fluctuations which are merely reflected by more specific types of luxury/expensive objects. Blacksmiths, *baqals*, woodworkers, wickerworkers, ropemakers, etc., are not so sensitive to economical changes; clearly their turnover will increase or decrease but not so obviously as is the case with other crafts/trades.

Tashqurghan is a declining bazaar strongly affected by the bad economy in today's Afghanistan, which in its turn is due to the three successive years of drought, which is indeed a catastrophe, the hardest hit being the farmers, cattle-breeders and nomads. The economy of the whole country has been affected by this misfortune.

For Tashqurghan the trouble started with a cholera epidemic in the spring of 1968, then the drought, which gave extremely hot summers in 1970 and 1971, followed by an extremely severe winter at the beginning of 1972, then yet another hot and dry summer.

To this can be added other internal problems such as a growing inflation, the somewhat dramatic change of prime minister in 1971 (Noor Ahmad Etemadi), with the appointment of Dr Zaher, which resulted in political changes in the government, disposals of governors, etc. There were problems with the *mullahs* in Kabul and Jalalabad, especially in the summer of 1970; there was the long university strike 1971-1972; the problem of communications during the winter of 1972; several natural catastrophes, especially in Farah in early 1972, severe starvation, etc., etc., completing the picture of a country facing disaster.

The Financial Situation

According to HUMLUM (1956) there are about 30 000 inhabitants in Tashqurghan (p. 132) and the present number of inhabitants is, according to Municipality sources, most likely between 30 000 and 35 000.

In 1966 the total number of houses in the city was registered by the Municipality at 4135, the total number of *sarays* at 24, and the total number of workshops/shops was 976, including those closed or deserted. This comprises both the bazaar and the housing areas.¹

The total number of *men* working directly in the bazaar can be fairly well estimated on the assumption that each shop has one *ustad*; that most of the selling shops have one *chagird*; that most of the manufacturing shops have one to three *chagirds*, and that some of them also have *khalifas*.

From this assessment one comes to the conclusion that there are approximately 2 500 males working in the bazaar.

It can further be estimated that there is seldom more than one *ustad* in each family; that *chagirds* are preferably chosen from the family though not all of them are related to the *ustad*. From this can be deduced that roughly 1 500 of the 2 500 persons working in the bazaar come from different families, thus making 1 500 families directly (or partly) depending on the bazaar.

The predominant type of household is that of the extended family (WILBER, p. 88; KRADER, p. 147).

Following the *Russian census* of 1897 for Central Asia the average household contained 5.5 members.²

However speculative these calculations may seem one can, by multiplying the census with the number of families, guess that approximately 8 000 persons in Tashqurghan are directly financially dependent on the bazaar, indirectly probably more.

To estimate the number of *females* indirectly working in the bazaar, i.e. manufacturing articles sold in the bazaar, is far more difficult as the women work at home secluded from the activities in the bazaar. They exist and produce but are not to be seen by a male outsider and certainly not available for a closer study by a foreign male non-muslim ethnographer.

Keeping in mind that most of the shopkeepers are married; that most of their wives perform some kind of handicraft at home which is brought to be sold in the bazaar; that the households are those of the extended family and that there thus must be other women other than the wife in each family and finally, that other women than the shopkeepers' wives do handicraft at home, one can come to the conclusion that there are at least 1 000 women indirectly connected with the bazaar as makers, probably more.

The female products are, briefly: Caps, embroidery, woven products, sewing, soap, candy, etc.

The nature of the female labour also differs from the male in the sense that while the men are wholly or almost wholly engaged in the bazaar, the female's work is more to be regarded as a

¹ The size of the bazaar of Tashqurghan compared to some other Central Asian bazaars:

Bokhara: 100 000 inhabitants (HAMILTON, p. 29); "Streets 360, Caravansaries 50; Covered bazaars 50" (op. cit. p. 36).

Samarkand: 54 900 inhabitants (op. cit. p. 39); "Shops 1 169; Caravansaries 28; Market-places 4" (op. cit. p. 40). Herat: 1 200 shops (op. cit. p. 169).

² *Russian Census*: Second-hand information from KRADER, p. 148.

complement to the ordinary female daily activities. It is a part-time job, giving the family some additional income, as well as making it possible for the women to buy personal possessions. Besides taking care of the home, nursing children, preparing food, etc., many of the women are also engaged in agricultural work and the preparation of both agricultural and animal products.

Most of the shopkeepers/craftsmen do *not* own their shops but rent the localities.

The conditions of possession are difficult to examine partly due to their complexity *per se*, partly because questions concerning money and property are regarded with slight suspicion.

Despite the above difficulties, my research in the bazaar led to the following facts: At least 2/3 of all shopkeepers/craftsmen rent their shops from different owners.

All of the craftsmen actually own all of their tools as well as often the material which they work on (copper, silver, iron, etc.) with the exception of the bakers who obtain flour on credit. No tools are rented but frequently borrowed without any charges from the owner. (A well developed mutual co-operation among the craftsmen). Most of the sellers do not own all of their merchandise. As money-lending with interest is prohibited by the Koran other systems have developed. It must however be stressed that it is extremely difficult for a foreigner to obtain information about these transactions.

There are five ways in which money can be borrowed:

1. As a loan, *qarz*, from the Municipality, which is considered as a legal transaction. With land as security citizens of Tashqurghan can borrow money with an interest ranging between ten and fifteen percent per annum.

2. Usury, *sud*, which is illegal, exists in the bazaar. The usurer, *sudkhor*, normally charges approximately forty percent interest for a period of six months.

3. Pawning, *gerao*.

4. A special type of loan between wholesaler and retailer called *bazarjari* seems to be very common in the bazaar. The wholesaler brings to a retailer in the bazaar an amount of goods bought for example in Kabul or Mazar-e Sharif. The retailer receives the goods on credit and settles an agreement with the wholesaler. The retailer then pays about 1/10 of his debt on fixed dates, usually market days, until the debt is paid. Each time he pays he adds an interest of five to ten percent of the amount paid.

5. The last type of loan is called *muzaribat* or "investments". A rich person invests money in a shop thus making it possible for the shopkeeper to purchase merchandise. The shopkeeper then sells the merchandise bought for the "loan" and after a year he shares the profit in equal parts with the investor. (This system was already mentioned by ELPHINSTONE, p. 217).

Most of the sellers and several of the craftsmen are also in debt, having credit from their contractors.

More than 600 shops, i.e. localities, are owned by some 210 persons renting them to the shopkeepers/craftsmen. Out of these shops about 250 are in the possession of seven rich families also owning at least ten *sarays*, tea-houses, mills, land and livestock. The Municipality owns about 25 shops plus part of the Flour *Saray*. The monthly rent for a shop/workshop ranges between 20 to 100 afghanis and the average shop rent is about 50 afghanis per month. However, some rents are

higher depending on where the shop is located. For example, the *banjara-atar* Ismael Ahraj who has his shop on the corner of *Banjara Street* and *Silver Street*, pays a monthly shop rent of 200 afghanis.

To buy a shop, i.e. to buy the locality, costs about 6 000–12 000 afghanis, depending on size and location.

The *sarays* are also rented in a similar way.

A *saray* owner lets the *saray* for various purposes, for example for selling vegetables and each seller in the *saray* rents a shop or selling place. Then the *saray* owner lets what is known as the *ejara* for an annual sum to another person. This person installs himself as *ejaradar* of the *saray*, meaning that he has the right to collect for himself a small tax on each load or animal brought in and out of the *saray*, thus earning money from the business transactions taking place in the *saray*, following a system of fixed prices.

A few examples: In the *Rice Saray* the *ejaradar* charges 3 afghanis for each sack arriving at the *saray* and 1.5 afghanis for each sack sold. To keep a camel in a *saray* during the day-time costs 0.5 to 1 afghani and for the night 1 to 2 afghanis. To rent a room for sleeping usually costs from 1 afghani and to store a sack of merchandise generally costs 1 afghani per day.

Sometimes the *ejaradar*, besides paying money to the *saray* owner, also has to pay an annual sum to the Municipality for having their authorization to act as *ejaradar*. This is the case with the *Rice Saray*, the *Flour Saray* and the live-stock market.

Most of the *sarays* operate in this way and they are all privately owned with the exception of the *Flour Saray*, which is partly owned by the Municipality. Most of the *sarays* and especially the proper caravan *sarays*, besides being commercial centres, also have stalls for animals, tea-houses and accommodation for travellers. An ordinary *saray* costs 4 000–8 000 afghanis per year to rent.

The *sarays* in Turkestan have several functions. VON SCHWARZ (1900) observed that:

Die Karawanserais sind öffentliche Gebäude, welche zur zeitweiligen Aufnahme der reisende Kaufleute samt ihren Waren, Pferden und Kamelen dienen. Sie bestehen aus einem geräumigen viereckigen Hofe, der rings von ein- oder zweistöckige Gebäuden umgeben ist, indem sich zur Aufnahme der Reisenden und ihrer Waren bestimmten Zimmer befinden (p. 165).

A *saray* can be used as: *Caravansaray*, a halting-place on the caravan routes; hotel, entrepôt, market for selling various articles, workshops for craftsmen, garage for busses, lorries and jeeps, etc., thus forming a complex institution with several purposes.¹

Another interesting financial feature of the bazaar is that several of the makers/sellers are also part-time agriculturalists. About 2/3 of the makers and about 3/4 of the sellers have gardens of their own ranging in size from 1/2 to 10 *jereb*. The products from the gardens are used both for private consumption and for selling in the bazaar. A yet more striking feature is that several of the sellers/makers do seasonal work for the farmers for payment in kind. This is especially the case for a period of two to four weeks during the month of *Jawza*, (the third month of the Afghan year, around June).

The number of *hadjis* in the bazaar also gives some information of a financial nature. According to hearsay there are some 35 *hadjis* but I have only been able to locate 25 of them, namely, 1 black-

¹ See also MEYENDORF, pp. 182–183; KHANIKOFF, pp. 110–112; ELPHINSTONE, p. 293.

smith, 3 ironmongers, 1 coppersmith, 1 rug-seller, 1 silversmith, 5 leatherworkers, 2 *karbaz*, 1 *chapan*-seller, 1 tailor, 4 *banjaras*, 1 trader, 2 cap-sellers and 2 shoemakers.

Some craft groups lack *hadjis*, among them some of the poorest, *pathragars*, *nilgars* woodworkers, ropemakers, and cobblers. The remaining ten *hadjis* are most likely to be found among the wealthy traders such as *bazaz* and almond traders, etc.

The number of *hadjis* among the leatherworkers verifies the general opinion that “the leatherworkers make a lot of money, being probably the most prosperous group in the entire bazaar” (field-note).

In the bazaar most of the exchange of goods/services between maker/seller and consumer is made on the basis of money. Barter as a means of payment for goods has more or less disappeared but still exists to a limited extent, as a means of payment for services. On the whole, money is the dominant medium of exchange in the bazaar.

Goods can be purchased in three ways:

1. Payment in cash, *nakht*, being the most common method,
2. On credit, *nasya*,
3. Payment in advance, *peshaki*.

Buying on credit is quite common at all levels. Shopkeepers buy their merchandise on credit from wholesalers; bakers buy flour on credit from flour-sellers; tea-houses buy bread on credit from bakers; people working in the bazaar buy tea on credit from tea-houses; people shopping in the bazaar buy on credit from shopkeepers they know well; etc.

Payment in advance is a less used method. The liver*kabab*-sellers, *jigarfrus*, always pay in advance when they buy liver from the *sallakh* but this is, as far as I know, the only group working directly *in* the bazaar which follows this system. Payment in advance is generally practised when you *order* something to be made/provided from a maker/seller.

Services are either paid for in kind or in cash. Payment in kind is most common in the agricultural sector where, for example, hired temporary workers receive their payment in grain and foodstuffs. In the bazaar itself payment in kind seldom exists other than on a reciprocal level between two parties.

As a rule payment for services is paid when that particular service has been performed, but sometimes however, a small amount may be paid in advance.

A customer seldom enters the shop but stands outside in the street where he talks to the shopkeeper and regards the goods displayed in the shop. The only shops which one enters are the work-shops of the different craftsmen.

The permanent shopkeepers seldom advertise their merchandise by crying and hawking but merely sit in the *dokan* waiting for a customer to come.

Hawking and crying is usual only among the street-vendors and two forms of hawking are common. It can either be the repeated shouting of “Fish!”, “Bread!”, “Candy!”, etc. or only calling the price, not mentioning the article for sale. A vegetable-vendor, either walking in the streets with his merchandise on a tray or operating from a small portable stand, can thus be crying

“*Yagrappa!*, *Yagrappa!*, *Yagrappa!*”¹ indicating that his articles, for example cucumbers, cost one afghani per piece. Thus he also standardizes the price and eliminates bargaining.

Almost all types of business transactions in the bazaar involve bargaining, *jagra*, as several prices tend to be flexible rather than fixed.² There are no rules for bargaining and there are, of course, articles which you do not bargain for, i.e. articles with some kind of unofficial fixed price. One does not for example, bargain for items such as matches, cigarettes, snuff, tobacco, plastic bags, candy, etc. and not for a portion of *kabab* or a pot of tea in a tea-house, etc. Neither does one bargain for certain types of services such as the rates in a *saray* or *hamam*, the rate for writing a letter, etc. Further, some prices are fixed by the Municipality (flour, rice, bread, etc.) and when fluctuations occur the town-crier, *djartchi*, is sent around in the bazaar crying out the new prices to sellers and customers. Otherwise people endeavour to bargain for most items in the bazaar. Bargaining usually takes a long time but as time is plentiful nobody minds this; “often business is conducted in a leisurely manner, money not being the only desired end” (SJOBERG, p. 440).

POTTER (1955) points out that:

Bargaining, so often thought the dominant characteristic of the Middle Eastern bazaar, is essentially a claim by the consumer that he knows the market as well as the merchant and that the price quoted does not represent an accurate appraisal of current supply and demand in the sense that economic theory uses the terms (pp. 113-114).

The amount of money one can bargain on a certain object is also determined by the seasonal cycle. Some items are more in demand during special periods and thus harder to bargain for. It would for example, be easier to bargain for harvesting implements in January than in August.

Each seller has a minimum price for most of his articles which is based on: The total price the seller paid for it (a) + interest, if the article was bought with borrowed money (b) + shop rent (c) + tax (d) + occasionally salaries (e) + calculated profit for the seller (f).

These factors put together give the final price demanded for an article by the seller. As points *a* to *e* are fixed expenditures for the seller he can thus only adjust factor *f*, which is his own profit. The seller is unlikely to sell an article without any profit at all, but he may sell at an incredibly small profit. However strange it may sound it is not the amount of profit *per se* which counts as long as the seller makes both ends meet.

The amount of bargaining also depends on the price and type of merchandise and the higher the value of the object the more the price will fall. An article priced at 80 afghanis may be sold for 75, while an article priced at 2 000 afghanis can be sold for 1 500.³

Lastly, the final price depends on the relation between the seller and his customer and in accordance with how good this relation is, the seller will adjust his profit and cut the price.

¹ In colloquial speech one can still hear the old term rupee (*rupaya*, *rupa*, *rappa*) used instead of afghani. *Yagrappa* thus means one rupee, correctly *yak rupa*, that is one afghani.

² Cf. HAMILTON, p. 378; GRAY, pp. 73-74; WILBER, p. 282.

³ A few examples on bargaining from the bazaar of Tashqurghan: A *dalal* received a knitted carpet from a

Turcman in one of the *sarays* in order to sell it for him; the Turcman wanted 1 500 afghanis. The *dalal* started asking 2 000 afghanis for it and finally he sold it for 1 550 afghanis, thus only receiving 50 afghanis profit for himself.

A *chapan*-seller asked 220 afghanis for an ordinary *chapan*; after bargaining it was sold for 180. A woven transportation-sack was priced at 140 afghanis in Rope Street and sold after bargaining for 120.

Finally I should like to quote a few examples of approximate prices in order to complete the picture of the financial situation:¹

One portion of <i>kabab</i> , a piece of bread and a pot of tea in a tea-house	14 afghanis	Raisins per <i>ser</i>	30-60 afghanis
One pot of tea with sugar	1 afghanis	Figs per <i>ser</i>	15 afghanis
330 g of bread	2,5 afghanis	Pomegranates per <i>ser</i>	20-25 afghanis
To grind one <i>ser</i> of wheat costs either 1/2 <i>pau</i> of un-ground wheat, or	2 afghanis	Apples per <i>ser</i>	75 afghanis
One <i>ser</i> of un-ground wheat	52,5 afghanis	Pears per <i>ser</i>	85 afghanis
Rice imported from Pakistan per <i>ser</i>	50-60 afghanis	Cigarettes, Pakistani per 20	6 afghanis
Afghan rice, average quality per <i>ser</i>	120-150 afghanis	Cigarettes, American, British, etc. per 20	22-25 afghanis
Afghan rice, superior quality per <i>ser</i>	up to 250 afghanis	Petrol per litre	6 afghanis
Calf meat per <i>pau</i>	12 afghanis	Diesel-oil per litre	5,5 afghanis
Mutton per <i>pau</i>	15-18 afghanis	A ride in a shared taxi between Tashqurghan and Mazar-e Sharif	20 afghanis
Goat meat per <i>pau</i>	15-18 afghanis	A ride in a shared taxi between Tashqurghan and Kabul (approximately)	250 afghanis
Cow's meat per <i>pau</i>	10 afghanis	Wood for burning per <i>ser</i>	10 afghanis
Butter per <i>pau</i>	35-40 afghanis	Salaries (approximate figures):	
<i>Roghani</i> per <i>ser</i>	400-500 afghanis	Soldiers during military service per month	30 afghanis
Salt per <i>ser</i>	14 afghanis	Skilled craftsman per month	2 000-3 000 afghanis
Imported sugar per <i>ser</i>	112 afghanis	Junior clerk (Municipality, etc.)	1 500 afghanis
Fish per <i>pau</i>	12 afghanis	Unskilled labourer per month	1 000 afghanis
Melon per <i>ser</i>	8-15 afghanis	Governor, <i>wali</i> , per month	4 000 afghanis

Social Status in the Bazaar of Tashqurghan

The following section is based on a large number of interviews I made in February 1972 with approximately 5-10 representatives of each craft in the bazaar of Tashqurghan. It should of course not be regarded as statistical, but it shows roughly some of the concepts combined with social status and how the craftsmen and sellers regard their own and other trades.

Nine of my informants allowed me to publish their entire statements while the others didn't want their names and information to be published.

It would be misleading to try to make a chart of the social status of different craft and trade groups but from the interviews some determinants of status can be derived, i.e. in general:

- a) landowners have the highest social status in Tashqurghan;
- b) the sellers who earn a lot of money and who can afford to have a large stock of merchandise have very high social status;
- c) heading the sellers seem to be *bazaz*, almondtraders, *chapan*-sellers, *banjaras*, tea-sellers and some people selling food-stuffs;
- d) among the craftsmen those who earn most have the highest status;

¹ All prices were collected in the bazaar of Tashqurghan in March 1972.

e) the “high-income” craftsmen seem to be blacksmiths, woodworkers, leather-preparers, and earlier, silversmiths and coppersmiths;

f) there is a lower middle strata consisting of some craftsmen and some small-scale sellers, such as leatherworkers, tailors, cobblers, potters, restaurant and tea-house keepers, bird-sellers, *kunjara*-sellers, wood-sellers, etc.;

g) finally there is a “bottom strata”, referred to as *makru*, represented by ropemakers, cloth-dyers, musicians and barbers.

All my informants stated that income and accumulated capital were the only means of acquiring and keeping a high social status. If one group who earlier earned a great deal of money for some reason had their income reduced, their social status was immediately lowered. This is especially the case with the silversmiths, who after the recent years of drought and disaster all over Afghanistan declined socially as the times grew harder and people didn't have any surplus wealth to invest in jewellery. Many of my informants stated that just a few years ago the silversmiths “were very wealthy and made a lot of money” (field-note).

The same thing is rapidly becoming the case with the coppersmiths. The drought, combined with the increased import of cheap plastic and aluminium household articles, makes their financial situation critical. Almost all of them complain about the bad times and quite a few have relinquished their craft or continue as *halabi saz* in order to survive. Many informants stated that about ten years ago all the coppersmiths in Tashqurghan were very busy in their shops, made a lot of money and definitely had a higher social status than the blacksmiths who nowadays seem to have quite a good income and a generally higher status than the coppersmiths.

Many informants counted leather-preparing as an inferior craft due to the fact that they removed hides from dead animals, but on the other hand the leather-preparers of Tashqurghan are very prosperous and that gives them a higher position than their trade actually deserves.

All my informants agreed that there is a clearly distinguishable “bottom strata” among the craftsmen and traders. They all counted ropemakers, cloth-dyers, barbers and musicians as inferior trades. The most common explanation relates to dead animals. The ropemakers use wool from dead animals, as do the cloth-dyers. Moreover, almost everybody also pointed out that the cloth-dyers always have dirty hands from the colours they use and this circumstance contributes to their low social position.

As to the low status of barbers and musicians nobody was able to furnish me with an explanation to the question “why?” The standard answer all the time was “it just is like that” and “it has always been in that way”.

Furthermore, the crafts of barbers, ropemakers, cloth-dyers and musicians are almost always inherited. For example, the son of a blacksmith would never dream of becoming a barber or ropemaker.

The “bottom strata” can in some aspects be regarded as a group of untouchables. My informants said that they would not like to eat with a cloth-dyer and most unwillingly with a barber. The groups of the “bottom strata” could be considered as endogamous in the sense that a cloth-dyer would prefer his offspring to be married to the offspring of some other cloth-dyer's family. Further-

more there seems to be no intermarriage between the “bottom strata” and groups with higher social position.

Whereas social status is shiftable and due to financial determinants in other groups it is permanent in the “bottom strata”. A barber or a cloth-dyer or ropemaker will always keep the same social status no matter how much money he might earn.

Finally, some points of interest should be stressed once more. *Social status is dependent on the financial situation of each craft. Social status shifts as the economy of a group changes, in other words most of the groups do not have a permanent status role but a flexible one.*

In the “bottom strata” the social positions are permanent and not dependent on changing financial conditions.

The nine informants who had no objections to my publishing their opinions are presented on the following pages to elucidate the different views on social status.

Each informant is named together with his profession and all of them gives a list of crafts/trades in a classified order starting with the highest ranking crafts/trades. Each informant, with one exception, also makes a short comment on their lists and while reading them it should be kept in mind that they are the original answers and comments without any alterations or corrections whatsoever. The other informants had nothing against giving information on the topic as long as they remained anonymous.

Comparing the nine interviews with each other, as well as with the non-published information, the basic concepts are more or less identical, as can be seen in the lists. There are of course, varieties, but the major points classified from *a* to *g* are prevalent in the bazaar of Tashqurghan.

Very little has been written on the social status of craftsmen.

Some Arabian material is however presented by DOSTAL (1964) who remarks that:

Leider verfügen wir über sehr wenig Angaben über die exakte Ranggliederung der einzelnen Handwerkergruppen ... (p. 199).

KIEFFER, among others, says that the barbers belong to an inferior social group which doesn't intermarry, “on ne donne pas sa fille á un dalak!” (pp. 194–195) and also that

Les dalak, les tisserand, les 'jat' ... et aussi les forgerons constituent en Afghanistan des groupes décriés (p. 195).

The blacksmiths might in general be considered as an inferior group, however *not* in Tashqurghan, because their earnings are comparatively large.

DEMONT and CENTLIVRES in their essay on pottery say:

Les potiers n'occupent pas une place bien déterminée dans la hiérarchie des professions; ils se classent dans la vaste catégorie de ceux qui ont un métier manuel et salissant; sans être mal considérés comme les tanneurs ou décriés comme les barbiers, ils n'en sont pas moins bien en-dessous des grandes professions mercantiles (p. 60).

Informant: Ismael Ahraj, *atar-banjara*

<i>Makers</i>	<i>Banjara</i>
Silversmith	<i>Atar</i>
Coppersmith	Shoe-seller
Blacksmith	Ironmonger
Woodworker	<i>Karbaz</i>
Mason	Cap-seller
Shoemaker	Flour-seller
<i>Seraj</i>	Butcher
Potter	Rice-seller
<i>Nadaf</i>	<i>Baqal</i>
<i>Pathragar</i>	Leather-seller
Leather-preparer	Pottery-seller
Ropemaker	Baker
Cloth-dyer	Restaurant keeper
Barber	<i>Kabab</i> -seller
<i>Sellers</i>	Fishmonger
<i>Bazaz</i>	Tea-house keeper
<i>Chapan-seller</i>	<i>Liverkabab</i> -seller
	Sheep and goathead-seller

Comments

The informant gave the following remarks concerning his list of social status.

1. Topping the list is the land and live-stock owner.
2. Sellers have a slightly higher status than makers because they have/earn more money.
3. The leather-preparers have low social status because they remove the hides from dead animals.
4. Ropemakers have low social status because they sometimes use wool from dead animals in their craft.
5. Cloth-dyers have low social status because they colour wool from dead animals and because their hands are always coloured; people belonging to other groups would never eat with cloth-dyers.
6. A *baqal* can have higher status if he has a lot of money invested in his shop, in other words if he has a great variety of things to sell (field-note).

Informant: "Baba", servant

<i>Makers</i>	Mason
Leather-preparer	Shoemaker
Blacksmith	Coppersmith
Woodworker and carpenter	<i>Halabi saz</i>

Potter	<i>Sellers</i>
<i>Seraj</i>	<i>Bazaz</i> and <i>chapan</i> -seller
<i>Nadaf</i>	Tea-seller
Ropemaker	Rice-seller
Cloth-dyer	<i>Baqal</i>
Cobbler	<i>Banjara</i> and <i>atar</i>
Barber	<i>Qanad</i>
Musician	Flour-seller

Comments

1. Landowners have the highest social status.
2. Sellers have higher social status than makers because they earn more and can afford to have large stocks.
3. The leather-preparers have very low social status because they work with dead animals, as do ropemakers and cloth-dyers, so their craft is inferior in itself, but here in Tashqurghan the leatherworkers earn a lot of money compared to other groups and that is why I think they have gained higher social status.
4. I would never eat with a cloth-dyer because he is inferior and has dirty hands.
5. Silversmiths used to have very high status but nowadays people can't afford to buy jewellery so they no longer make so much money. If they earned more they would enjoy a higher position (field-note).

Informant: *Kalanthar* Abdul Aziz, blacksmith

Landowner	Blacksmith
Garden owner	Woodworker
Ironmonger	Coppersmith and <i>halabi saz</i>
<i>Bazaz</i>	Silversmith
<i>Banjara</i>	Fishmonger
<i>Chapan</i> -seller and <i>karbaz</i>	Tailor
Cap-seller	Mason and potter
Tea-seller	Oil-seller
China-seller	Wickerworker
<i>Baqal</i>	Hay-seller
Leather-preparer	Tea-house keeper
Rice-seller	<i>Dalal</i>
Flour-seller	Cobbler
<i>Qanad</i>	Barber and musician

Comments

Money is very important. Silversmiths once had higher status but not today as nobody can afford to buy jewellery (field-note).

Informant: Abdul Rashid, cap-seller

Bazaz
Silversmith
Banjara and *atar*
Tea-seller
Baqal
Cap-seller
Woodworker
Qanad
Blacksmith
Coppersmith
Flour-seller
Rice-seller
Butcher
Leather-preparer
Shoemaker
Rug-seller
Ropemaker
Potter
Fishmonger
Barber
Cloth-dyer

Comments

Those who earn a lot of money have high status. Silversmiths have high status, not because they earn a lot, but because they usually have an expensive stock.

Cloth-dyers and barbers are always considered to be inferior; one cannot eat with a cloth-dyer (field-note).

Informant: Idi Mohammad, cap-seller

Makers

Silversmith
Blacksmith
Coppersmith
Leather-preparer
Shoemaker
Capmaker
Baker
Tailor

Woodworker
Butcher
Halabi saz
Ropemaker
Wickerworker and cage-maker
Kabab-seller
Tea-house keeper
Cloth-dyer
Barber

Sellers
Bazaz
Banjara-atar
Chapan-seller
Karbaz
Rice-seller
Cap-seller
Flour-seller

Roghan-seller
Baqal
Qanad
Shoe-seller
Straw-seller
Hay-seller
Wood-seller

Comments

Money is very important. Silversmiths have high status because they used to earn a lot. Landowners have the highest social status. Barbers, cloth-dyers and ropemakers are always inferior; you can't eat with a cloth-dyer. Sellers have higher status than makers (field-note).

Informant: Qahed, mayor of Khulm

Landowners
Bazaz
Silversmith
Banjara
Coppersmith and *halabi saz*
Flour-seller
Rice-seller
Woodworker
Blacksmith
Qanad
Butcher
Leatherworker (=all types)
Shoemaker
Ropemaker and rug-seller
Cage-maker
Baker
Wickerworker
Tea-house, restaurant keeper and *kabab-seller*
Weaver
Nadaf
Farm-worker
Barber
Cloth-dyer

No comments

Informant: Ashraf, *halabi saz*

Landowner	Tailor
<i>Bazaz</i>	Mason
Ironmonger	Rug-seller
<i>Qanad</i>	Saddlemaker
Silversmith	Ropemaker
<i>Banjara and atar</i>	Shoe-seller
Coppersmith	Restaurant keeper
Cap-seller	Tea-house keeper
<i>Halabi saz</i>	<i>Kabab</i> -seller
Butcher	Liver <i>kabab</i> -seller
Blacksmith	Fishmonger
Potter	Shoemaker
Flour-seller	Leather-preparer
Rice-seller	<i>Karbaz</i>
<i>Baqal</i>	<i>Roghan</i> -seller
Fruit-seller	Miller
Woodworker	Cobbler
a) Turner	Wickermaker
b) Chairmaker	Cage-maker
c) Doormaker	Cloth-dyer
d) Maker of agric. impl.	Barber
<i>Seraj</i>	Musician
Innkeeper	

Comments

The social status depends solely on how much money a person can make, with the exception of those who work with dead animals and who are inferior in themselves (field-note).

Informant: Hadji Abdul Majit, cap-seller

Landowner
Almond trader
Bazaz
Banjara and atar
Silversmith
Rice-seller
Blacksmith
Leather-preparer
Qanad
Cap-seller
Shoemaker/seller

Flour-seller
Rug-seller
Coppersmith
Ropemaker
Roghan-seller
Seraj
Butcher
Woodworker
Tea-house and restaurant keeper
Karbaz
Baqal
Rojan-seller
Cloth-dyer
Cobbler
Barber
Musician

Comments

Social status depends on how much money a person can earn and how much money he has invested in his shop. Dyers always have low status, I don't know why—it just is like that and the same applies to barbers (field-note).

Informant: Worker (Informant did not want to publish his name)

Landowner
Silversmith
Blacksmith
Coppersmith
Woodworker
Halabi saz
Potter
Shoemaker
Tailor
Leatherworker
(=all types)
Cloth-dyer
Ropemaker
Barber

Comments

Those who can make a lot of money are superior; cloth-dyers, ropemakers and barbers are always inferior. Silversmiths have high social status because they work with an expensive material (field-note).

CONCLUSION

Tashqurghan is probably the last traditional bazaar in Afghanistan. Situated on the ancient caravan route through Turkestan, Tashqurghan has been a town of great commercial importance to this part of Central Asia. Today the situation is the reverse and Tashqurghan, still a commercial centre, is struck by poverty, decline and gradually diminishing importance.

The aim of this study has been to describe ethnographically the present situation which Tashqurghan is facing, keeping in mind that the bazaar is doomed and according to my own opinion hardly able to survive in its present form.¹

Three successive years of financial difficulties caused to a large extent by climatological factors and the atmosphere of general socio-cultural change in Afghanistan, is reflected directly by the situation in the traditional bazaar.

Situated on what is popularly called "the crossroad of cultures" Tashqurghan has from ancient times received influences from other parts of Asia both on an economic and a cultural level. The direct contact for centuries with Russia, Bokhara, Turkestan, India, Kabul, etc. has made Tashqurghan culturally eclectic, constantly absorbing new traits and constantly in contact with other cultural areas. It would thus be more correct to classify Tashqurghan as a typical trade-mart in Central Asia rather than an Afghan bazaar. Within the last 60-100 years, however, Tashqurghan has changed from a large Central Asian trade-mart to, if not an Afghan bazaar, a bazaar in Afghanistan. The old ties with Russia, Bokhara, India, etc. are broken and today's Tashqurghan receives its influences mainly from Kabul and the western hemisphere. Deprived of its international importance, contemporary Tashqurghan operates mainly at a domestic level and it is probably this circumstance which has brought the largest changes to the traditional bazaar.

Today's Afghan Turkestan—an ethnically divided area, is, as has been already mentioned, characterized by extensive changes. Bokhara has lost its political and cultural influence to Kabul; this means increased influence from the so-called Iranian area of culture, as well as from the western world. These influences in Turkestan are noticable and the different ethnical groups continually

¹ *Added in proof:* The bazaar of Tashqurghan has been thoroughly described not only by myself but also by P. CENTLIVRES whose study *Un bazar d'Asie Centrale* (in *Beiträge zur Iranistik*, herausgegeben von G. Redard, Wiesbaden 1972) appeared when my manuscript was concluded. Thus the bazaar of Tashqurghan has been independently surveyed by two ethnographers, which for future ethnographical research creates an almost unique situation when, for example, scientists wish to compare changes in a tra-

ditional bazaar within a very limited period of time. CENTLIVRES' material was collected during the periods August-December 1966 and March-June 1968 and my own material from 1970-1972 and this will make it possible later on to follow the development and change in Tashqurghan from 1966-1972 in detail; a period during which significant changes have occurred.

In a forthcoming paper the author will compare the two accounts.

affect each other, at the same time as they continuously absorb influences from the outside world. Much of that which is typically Turkestanian and typically Afghan has had to give way to new influences. Because of Turkestan's decreasing economical importance, caused by, among other things, the cessation of the caravan trade, Kabul was able to increase its dominance over the once powerful and autonomous provinces north of the Hindu Kush.

These changes in the political, cultural and economical environment are immediately reflected in the traditional Turkestanian/Afghan culture.

In the bazaar of Tashqurghan the traditional culture is rapidly changing. Several crafts are slowly dying out (coppersmiths, silversmiths, specialized leather-workers, etc.) and others have already become history (moulders, gun-smiths, money-changers, etc.).

The patterns of trade have changed from international to pure regional and even to some extent, domestic lines.

The methods of production within the bazaar have changed from large scale production of several articles for export (copperware, shoes, etc.) to a limited production of a few standard items suited to serve a narrower market (woodwork, implements, caps, etc.).

The general processes of "westernization" have created "modern" articles (western-looking shoes/clothes, objects of white metal, etc.) and poverty has also contributed to the materialistic and artistic changes in the material culture, (the use of cheaper alternative materials; less decorations; etc.) as well as to an increased import of cheap factory-made articles, which serve as substitutes for the traditional items (plastic jugs, Japanese porcelain, machine-made cloth, etc.). New crafts have entered the bazaar (radio-repairers, watch-makers, *halabi saz*, bicycle-repairers, etc.) and in all crafts/trades the altering conditions are striking.

Some of the traditional crafts/trades have, however, survived, but often in a somewhat different form. There are still the blacksmiths supplying the rural population with traditional agricultural implements, and there are still wood-workers, leather-preparers, potters, cap-embroiderers, rope makers, etc. working in their traditional ways. Most of the traditional shapes are preserved but the products tend to become simpler and simpler.

It would not be correct to say that the entire bazaar has undergone extensive changes. In many aspects the traditional bazaar is still to varying degrees unaffected by change but the possibilities of preserving some of the contemporary conditions are very limited. As the Afghan society continues to change, the fate of Tashqurghan will become even more apparent, and whether or no the traditional bazaar can maintain its present form in the next decade is a matter for conjecture.

<i>Abi</i> irrigated farming	<i>hafndagi</i> weaving	<i>borya</i> wicker carpet
<i>afghani</i> monetary unit; 1 u.s. dollar is approximately 80 afs	<i>baj (bay)</i> landowner	<i>boryabaf</i> wickerworker
<i>aftava</i> jug	<i>baks</i> bag	<i>boryabafi</i> wickerworker's workshop
<i>aina</i> mirror	<i>bandikhana</i> prison	<i>boryafrus(h)</i> wicker-seller
<i>aingar</i> blacksmith	<i>banjara</i> petty trader	<i>bouta</i> metal crucible
<i>ainqalam</i> chisel	<i>baq(q)al</i> seller of food-stuff	<i>bulgar</i> Russian black leather
<i>alagadari</i> political and administrative section	<i>barak</i> type of coarse cloth	<i>buranda</i> shoemaker's knife
<i>alqa ambur</i> tong	<i>basa</i> constructive element	<i>burra</i> sugar
<i>ambur</i> tong	<i>barma</i> bore	<i>bulul</i> pipe, funnel
<i>amburcha</i> pincer	<i>ba tuli</i> by weight	<i>butduz</i> shoemaker
<i>andaza</i> paper pattern	<i>baysikelsaz</i> bicycle repairer	<i>butfrus(h)</i> shoe-seller
<i>anja</i> two-man spade	<i>bazaar</i> "commercial area", market place	<i>butfaz</i> shoemaker
<i>anwari</i> show-case	<i>bazaar-e birum</i> outskirts bazaar	<i>buyi</i> transportation sack
<i>ar(r)a</i> saw	<i>bazarjari</i> investment	<i>chaderi</i> veil
<i>ar(r)adusar</i> saw	<i>bazaz(frus)(h)</i> seller of imported cloth	<i>chagird, (shagird)</i> apprentice
<i>ardfrus(h) alaf</i> flour-seller	<i>bedafrus(h)</i> fodder-seller	<i>chamus(h)</i> half-boot
<i>asia</i> mill	<i>bel</i> spade	<i>changak</i> baker's poker
<i>at(t)ar</i> seller of local remedies	<i>belsaz</i> spadesmith	<i>changkard</i> knife
<i>atashgir</i> tweezers	<i>belaw</i> whetstone	<i>chapan</i> a type of coat with long sleeves
<i>aykaldan</i> bag	<i>bepas(h)</i> slipper	<i>chapanfrus(h)</i> chapan-seller
<i>babatcheragi babecheraq</i> type of tax	<i>berenjfrus(h)</i> rice-seller	<i>chapli</i> a type of shoe
<i>badamfrus(h)</i> almond trader	<i>bokhari</i> stove	<i>charchi</i> wooden fork
	<i>bolqa</i> small hammer	

بنجارا	<i>Banjara</i>
تاشقرغان	<i>Tashqurghan</i>
تخته خورک	<i>Takhtakharak</i>
چرخ	<i>Charkh</i>
حلبی ساز	<i>Halabi saz</i>
کفش دوز	<i>Kawshduz</i>

¹ The transcription used in this book follows a simplified system using non-phonetical signs previously employed by, among others: MARKOWSKI (1932), HUMLUM (1959), FERDINAND (1959), GRASSMUCK (1969), et al. The transcription is mainly based on the pronunciation rather than on the spelling of the *Dari* used in northern Afghanistan. It must be pointed out to the reader that since I only have a limited knowledge of Iranian languages some of my transcriptions can be, from a linguistic point of view, somewhat erroneous.

For valuable advice when making this glossary I am deeply indebted to Dr D. Monchi-Zadeh, Uppsala.

- chardarya* a place crossed by four irrigation channels
chareq sandal
charkh grindstone; potter's wheel
charkha implement for making strings
charm leather
charmfrus(h) leather-seller
charmgar leather-preparer
charpoi a type of wickerwork
charqator implement for twining ropes
charsu a place where two streets intersect each other
chaukidar night-watchman
chawki small table/chair
chigelsaz leatherworker
chilam water-pipe
chiigar printer on cotton cloth
chubfrus(h) wood-seller
chuncha spoon
- dahera* (*dayera*) leather for drums
dal(l)ak barber
dal(l)al broker
dal(l)al-e badam almond broker
dal(l)al-e bazaar general broker
dal(l)al-e gosfandbazaar live-stock broker
dal(l)al-e motar transportation agent
dal(l)al-e pust hide broker
dam bellows
dandanakash dental tong
"dandanakashi-e ar(r)a" implement for making saws
darayi mould
darazranda plane
daroush type of stamp
darukobi gun-powder maker
darwaza door, entrance-gate
dasereb leather-preparer's knife
dasht steppe
daura band used for decoration
dawafrus(h) pharmacist
dehqan farmer
dervish dervish
destak constructive element
- dig* pot
djartchi town-crier
dokan shop
dokandar shopkeeper
doki potter's "anvil"
dolicha jug to be used in the toilet
dubini anvil
- ehzarnama* type of tax
ejara concession
ejaradar holder of *ejara*
ezar type of baggy trousers
- frus(h)* -seller (suffix)
- gadi* two-wheeled cart
gadisaz *gadi*-repairer
gadiwan *gadi*-driver
gawara infant's cradle
gazina baker's disc
gerao, (*geraw*) type of loan
ghabel sieve
ghaltakzambel wheelbarrow
gilet white metal
golicha jug
gosfandbazaar live-stock market
guldozi embroidery
gumbad cupola-shaped house
gundak kiln
gupi churn
gupicha shirt
gurr raw cane sugar
guzar administrative section of a town
- hadji* person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca
hakim old word for governor
halabi saz jobbing-smith
halva candy
ham(m)am (public) bath
hampir of the same *pir*
hauz, (*hawz*) water basin
hukumat Municipality
- id* (religious) festival
inami type of gift
iskana axe
- jagra* bargaining
jainamaz prayer rug
jarub broom stick
jawaznama type of tax
jawza the third month of the Afghan year
jelab grossist
jereb 1954 m²
jigarfrus(h) seller of liver-*kabab*
joaz-e tel oil-press
joh yoke
jual sack
jualduzan needle-bag
jualduzsaz needlesmith
jula weaver
- kabab* pieces of grilled meat on a spit
ka(d)ji steering gear
kafgir ladle
kaimaq, (*qaimaq*) dish prepared from milk
kaland(h)ar leader of a guild
kaland(h)arpuli symbolic payment to a *kaland(h)ar*
kaman bow
kamisan commission
kammarbandi waist-band; *rite de passage*
kaycha wooden mould
karachi transportation cart
karakul, (*qaraqul*) a type of sheep
karbaz(frus)(h) seller of locally manufactured cloth
kardsaz knifsmith
kar-e dasti manual work
karigar-e shishe glass worker
karkhana workshop
karkhana-ye charmgar leather-preparer's workshop
kaseb craftsman
kaychi, (*qaychi*) scissors
kawshduz shoemaker
kawshfrus(h) shoe-seller
kebab *kabab*-shop
kemukht chagrin-leather

<i>kemukhtgar</i> preparer of chagrin-leather	<i>madrassa</i> religious school	<i>nad(d)af</i> cotton cleaner
<i>kemukht</i> chagrin-leather	<i>mahak</i> testing-stone	<i>nahiya</i> administrative section
<i>kemukhtgar</i> preparer of chagrin-leather	<i>mahipaz</i> fishmonger	<i>naj(j)ar</i> carpenter
<i>khaesk-e sepaw</i> hammer	<i>makru</i> low social order	<i>naj(j)ari dchqani</i> carpenter making agricultural implements
<i>khalifa ustad's</i> "partner"	<i>malang</i> dervish	<i>nakht</i> payment in cash
<i>khamdas</i> leather-preparer's knife	<i>malaqa</i> ladle	<i>nalsaz</i> farrier
<i>khar(r)at</i> turner	<i>maliat-e baraidat (maliyat-e bar ayidat)</i> type of tax	<i>namad</i> felt
<i>khar(r)ati</i> lathe	<i>mandai</i> open place where food-stuffs are sold	<i>namadsaz</i> feltmaker
<i>khatchub</i> stick used as mnemonic aid, tally stick	<i>mandai-ye ard</i> flour market	<i>nan</i> bread
<i>khattat</i> calligrapher	<i>mandai-ye baq(q)ali</i> food-stuff market	<i>nanwai</i> baker
<i>khordafrus(h)</i> ironmonger	<i>mandai-ye berenjfrus(h)i</i> rice market	<i>narenji</i> orange colour
<i>khum</i> cloth-dyer's pot	<i>mandai-ye sawsfrus(h)i</i> vegetable market	<i>nashtar</i> knife for opium extraction
<i>khumdan</i> oven	<i>mandanu</i> churning-stick	<i>nasya</i> payment on credit
<i>kilim</i> woven rug	<i>manqal</i> stove	<i>nawa</i> chisel
<i>ko(h)</i> mountain	<i>margir</i> snake-charmer	<i>nay</i> jobbing-smith's implement (a metal bar)
<i>kob</i> bowl	<i>markaz-e shahr</i> the central part of a bazaar	<i>nechala</i> candy
<i>koba</i> implement for smoothing leather	<i>mashin-e khay(y)ati</i> sewing machine	<i>negaran</i> leader of a <i>nahiya</i>
<i>kochi</i> nomad	<i>mashk</i> leather sack	<i>nekar</i> underwear
<i>kohmaduz</i> cobbler	<i>mazidaraz</i> high leather boots	<i>nil</i> indigo
<i>kohnafrus(h)</i> second-hand dealer	<i>matena</i> chisel	<i>nilgar</i> cloth-dyer
<i>kotband</i> coat hanger	<i>maydakarsaz</i> repairing smith	<i>nimdasti</i> hammer
<i>kraiachai, (kerayashai)</i> type of tax	<i>maziduz/mozaduz</i> bootmaker	<i>nimrakh</i> hammer
<i>kula(h)</i> cap	<i>mekkh</i> pole	<i>nimpokhta</i> "half-prepared" leather
<i>kula(h)frus(h)</i> cap-seller	<i>mekkhchagar</i> nail-maker	<i>nimsaq</i> half-boot
<i>kulal</i> potter	<i>mesgar</i> coppersmith	<i>noqol</i> sugar-covered walnuts
<i>kunda</i> wooden firmament	<i>meshr</i> leader of a <i>guzar</i>	<i>oteli</i> restaurant
<i>kunde simkashi</i> bench with a <i>simkash</i>	<i>meshrano jirgah</i> house of the elders	<i>paizar, (payzar)</i> traditional shoe
<i>kunjara</i> oil-cake	<i>mil</i> wooden pole	<i>paizarduz</i> maker of <i>paizar</i>
<i>kunjarafrus(h)</i> seller of <i>kunjara</i>	<i>minagirak</i> ropemaker's implement	<i>paizar-e mardana</i> man's <i>paizar</i>
<i>kunjit</i> sesame	<i>mirab</i> divider of water	<i>paizar-e zavana</i> woman's <i>paizar</i>
<i>kurm</i> imported leather	<i>mirza</i> writer	<i>paka</i> fan
<i>kura</i> hearth	<i>mujtab, (muytab)</i> ropemaker	<i>paki</i> razor
<i>kurta</i> a long loose skirt	<i>mullah</i> priest	<i>palawkhori</i> plate
<i>kuza</i> jug	<i>murbat</i> ropemaker's implement	<i>parkal</i> measure
	<i>mu(h)rkan</i> engraver	<i>pashmfrus(h)</i> wool-seller
	<i>mushta</i> cudgel	<i>pata</i> type of wicker
	<i>mutji, (muchi)</i> cobbler	<i>pat(h)ra</i> metal strip
	<i>muydas</i> scraping iron	<i>pat(h)ragar</i> mender of broken china
	<i>muzaribat</i> investment	<i>pau</i> 441, 69 g
		<i>payrawanak</i> toy used when teaching children to walk

perhan-tomban loose skirt and baggy trousers
peshaki payment in advance
peshkar iron bar
pi(y)ala bowl
pinaduz cobbler
pir initiator of a craft/trade
pofak blowpipe
pupak decoration
push-e kard knife sheath
pustiu fur coat
pustinduz embroiderer and maker of *pustius*
puzband muzzle

qafas bird cage
qafas-e push bird cage cover
qalam chisel
qaleb matrice
qalebmekh implement for making fittings
qami “merchants”
qand sugar
qan(n)ad candymaker
qari person who can recite the Koran
qaryadar “elected village leader”
qarz loan
gas(s)ab butcher
qatar munition belt
qermez red
qislak, (qishlaq) village
qilfsaz locksmith
qir woven band
qur-e bardar woven band
qur-e popakdar woven band

radiofrus(h) radio-seller
radiosaz radio-repairer
randa plane
randaqil plane
randepalang plane
randesini plane
rang colour
rashbel wooden shovel
rasta street with shops facing each other

raste aingeri, (rasta-e ...) blacksmiths’ street
raste banjara petty traders’ street
raste baq(q)ali food-stuff sellers’ street
raste charmfrus(h)i leather-sellers’ street
raste charsu *charsu* street
raste kalan main street
raste karbazfrus(h)i cloth-sellers’ street
raste misgeri coppersmiths’ street
raste muytabi ropemakers’ street
raste qan(n)ati candy-sellers’ street
raste zarger (gold-)silversmiths’ street
redja moulding form/melting form
rikhtagar moulder
risala a craft’s religious writings
roghan oil
roghandaq ladle
rojan madder (*rubia tinctorum*)
ruz-e bazaar market-day

sabat wicker tray
sabun soap
safai, (safayi) type of tax
sallakhi slaughter
salman barber
samovar *samovar*; tea-house
sandali wooden construction used together with a “heater”
sangdan, (<sendan) anvil
sang-e kar marble plate for preparing colour
sangelem implement for making gold leaves
sar(r)af moneychanger
saray entrepôt for animals and merchandise
saray-e kulala potters’ *saray*
sarkali head-shaving ceremony
sa(a)tsaz watchmaker
say(y)ed descendant from the Prophet
satelcha pitcher
senf guild

ser 7,066 kg
ser(r)aj leatherworker
shal woven cloth (shawl)
shal-e barkehrud woven cloth
shalfrus(h) seller of woven cloth, rug-seller
shalwar trousers
sharival mayor
shekestaband “chiropractor”
shikan a type of gift
shikari western-type shoe
shiriakfrus(h) ice cream-seller
shirinigak candy
shirkat joint-stock company
shirpera candy
shirinipaz candymaker
shirinfus(h) candy-seller
shumak catheter
shurbakhori soup-bowl
shura parliament
sikh baker’s implement
sikh-e kura poker
silvar white metal
simkash steel plate with holes for making metal threads
siya(h)dana seeds from *nigella sativa*
sof(f)a shelf
sonitarash farrier’s knife
son(n)at circumcision
sud usury
sudkhor usurer
sukuk type of tax
suma awl
surai carafe
sutum pillar
suwan file
suzan needle

tabaf/(tavvaf), tabangi street-vendor
tabang wicker tray
tabib-e yunani local medical doctor
tagara ceramic vessel
takak-e bel stay
takhta bench

<i>takhtakharak</i>	a type of bench used by the blacksmiths	<i>tjai</i> (<i>chay</i>)	tea	<i>uluswijirgah</i>	house of the people
<i>tamancha</i>	potter's "paddle"	<i>tjaifrus(h)</i>	tea-seller	<i>ustad</i>	master
<i>tanabe pashm gulani</i>	implement for cleaning wool	<i>tjaijus</i>	tea-pot	<i>yani</i>	basin
<i>tandur</i>	oven	<i>tjai khana</i>	tea-house	<i>wajrus(h)</i>	retailer
<i>tandurpak</i>	cloth for cleaning the <i>tandur</i>	<i>tjakush, (chakush)</i>	hammer	<i>wali</i>	governor
<i>tangiasp, (tang-e ...)</i>	type of band	<i>tjakush che chubi</i>	wooden hammer	<i>wakil-e senfi</i>	leader of a guild
<i>tangikhar</i>	type of band	<i>tjarsu, (charsu)</i>	hammer	<i>wazkot</i>	waistcoat
<i>tangigau</i>	type of band	<i>tjinifrus(h), (chini-)</i>	china-seller	<i>wilayat</i>	province; political and administrative division
<i>tapa</i>	hole-making implement	<i>tjinikob</i>	transportation sack for china	<i>zambel</i>	transportation basket
<i>tar</i>	loom	<i>tobak</i>	chamber-pot	<i>zamin</i>	cultivable land
<i>tarachub</i>	bench	<i>tofangsaz</i>	gun smith	<i>zamin-e baghi</i>	gardening
<i>taranga</i>	transportation net	<i>tubi-ye mardana</i>	rubber shoe for men	<i>zamindar</i>	landowner
<i>tashchini</i>	anvil	<i>tumar-e asp</i>	talisman for horses	<i>zanjabil</i>	candy (ginger)
<i>tasm</i>	leather strip	<i>tunuka</i>	white metal sheet	<i>zargar</i>	silversmith (goldsmith)
<i>tauwiz, (taviz)</i>	kind of amulet	<i>turshak</i>	candy	<i>ze(h)</i>	goat tendon
<i>tauwizgar</i>	maker of <i>tauwiz</i>	<i>tushak</i>	pillow	<i>zerbagali</i>	drum
<i>tawilkhana</i>	store room	<i>ujura</i>	type of division of labour	<i>zersuma</i>	awl
<i>tejar</i>	trading nomad; trader	<i>uluswal</i>	sub-governor	<i>ziarat</i>	holy man's tomb
<i>tel-e-khakfrus(h)</i>	kerosene-seller	<i>uluswali</i>	sub-governorate; political and administrative division	<i>zoghal</i>	charcoal
<i>teriak</i>	opium			<i>zoghalkash</i>	coaler
<i>teshasaz</i>	mattocksmith				
<i>tir</i>	constructive element				

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